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Woodstock Letters

ST. LOUIS, MO. U.S.A.

THE QUEEN'S WORK: FIFTY YEARS
WILLIAM B. FAHERTY

THE CHINESE MARTYRS
JOSEPH CAHILL

IGNATIAN SURVEY: 1962

OBITUARIES —— BOOK REVIEWS

Vol. 92, No. 2 APRIL, 1963

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A Half-Century with the Queen's Work

William B. Faherty, S.J.

The Queen's Work has meant many things to many people, successively or simultaneously, during its fifty years. To some it is an influential publishing house; to others either a sodality service center, a nurturer of vocations, a magazine for youth, a vital center of social action, or a Jesuit community.

To some it is a group of trained personnel, Jesuit and lay, who bring the message of Catholic action to all parts of America. To others it remains the challenging memory of one man, Father Daniel A. Lord, S.J., who dominated its activities for a quarter of a century.

It is in part, all these things—and more. Well might the full picture of *The Queen's Work* be viewed this year, its golden anniversary.

In the autumn of 1913, the Jesuit General, Father Francis Xavier Wernz, directed the Missouri Provincial, Father Alexander J. Burrowes, to arrange for the publishing of an American sodality magazine. Complying with Father General's directive, Father Burrowes chose young Father Edward Garesché as director of the projected publication. The new editor immediately began a two-part survey. He explored the actual condition of the Sodalities of the Blessed Virgin in the United States; and he studied the possibility of a successful magazine to promote the sodalities.

Father Garesché chose the name "The Queen's Work" for the new publication, because "he wanted to do the work of the Queen of Heaven." He obtained the use of three small rooms on the third floor of Saint Louis University. He enlisted three capable associates: scholastic Daniel A. Lord, temporarily out of course because of an attack of typhoid, as assistant editor; Brother Louis of the university staff, as consultant on art work; and John Bright Kennedy, university undergraduate

who was to become a nationally known radio and screen commentator, as part-time editorial assistant.

Father Garesché opened the first issue of the magazine with an expression of hope for the sodalities in America. Mr. Lord wrote the story of a sodality-sponsored recreation center in St. Louis. Three already well known writers contributed articles: Fathers Francis Finn, Joseph P. Conroy, popular authors of books for boys, and Charles Plater, founder of Oxford's famous Catholic Labor College.

In one of its early issues, *The Queen's Work* conducted a poetry contest on the subject of our Lady. The authors had to be anonymous. Joyce Kilmer won both first and second prizes —a decision which speaks well both for the judgment of the men who made the selections and for the quality of the entries.

Many writers of distinction contributed to the new magazine in its early years: Cardinal Mercier, the Belgian philosopher; Sister Madeleva, poet and educator; Cardinal Gasquet, the great English historian; C. C. Martindale, outstanding English priest-penman; Martin A. Scott, whose books on religion were to count millions of readers; and James J. Daly, staff member for a time, who published some of his most beautiful prose and poetry in *The Queen's Work*.

Almost from the first, the magazine had a wide range of subject matter. Back in those days when Catholics rarely discussed social questions, for example, Father Henry Spalding published a magnificent defense of the right of the laboring man to organize. Immediately after World War I, pious French generals wrote of their war experiences on the Western Front. Scattered among such memoirs, were Father Elder Mullan's articles on Sodality origins.

The Queen's Work first appeared as a bound journal, slightly larger than book size. Later it assumed a magazine format, about the size of the present day *America*. Later on, it grew even larger, to the size of *Extension*. Consistent with each increase in size, the price went up. After ten years the magazine swung full cycle, back to the original size and shape.

Father Lord Comes

The personnel of the Sodality Center changed rapidly during these early years. In the summer of 1925 the Missouri

Provincial assigned Father Lord to the staff of *The Queen's Work*. As a recuperating scholastic, he had assisted Father Garesché during the magazine's initial year. Now, as a priest, he returned to become editor-in-chief. Three Jesuits welcomed him: Father Aloysius Breen, Father Isaac Bosset, and Father Leo Mullaney.

Under Father Lord's impetus, the staff set about the business of studying the role of the magazine and the status of the sodality in the light of American realities. This survey proved interesting. Sodalities flourished in some areas, lagged in others, just as the religious pattern of the entire country varied. The publishing picture, however, had changed greatly in this same period. When Father Garesché had started *The Queen's Work*, Catholics published relatively few magazines of general interest. On this account, while directing the magazine primarily to sodalists, Father Garesché had striven to make it a journal of national character by publishing articles of interest to all Catholics.

In the intervening twelve years, many new Catholic magazines had entered the field. The editors of *The Queen's Work* decided, therefore, to publish the magazine strictly as a tool of Sodality promotion and instruction.

In a statement of policy in the December 1925 issue of *The Queen's Work*, the editors stated "that the sodalists were leading lives of fine virtue and working energetically in parishes, schools, and hospitals. They had experienced themselves what sodalists can do for the spiritual life of a parish, for the awakening of militant Catholicity in schools and for building up a Catholic spirit of a hospital. *The Queen's Work* could best serve these million and one-half sodalists by presenting material primarily concerned with sodality development."[1]

"The sodalists need a medium through which they can become better acquainted," the new editor wrote. "They need help, practical help, in solving sodality problems. They need inspiration from a knowledge of the larger Catholic activity going on throughout the World."[2] *The Queen's Work* would attempt to provide this.

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[1] *The Queen's Work*, XVII: 12 (Dec., 1925), p. 309.
[2] *Ibid.*

Father Lord invited the Jesuit Sodality Directors to meet at Loyola University in Chicago in August, 1926. Here, with the steady encouragement of Father Reiner, Dean of the College, they drew up a new plan of sodality organization. Implementing the decision of this pivotal meeting, Father Lord published a booklet, "The ABC of Sodality Organization," the following winter.

In line with the promotion of this outline, the new editor began to publish other sodality materials, brochures, pamphlets, study helps, and supplements of various kinds. He conducted spirtual leadership schools in eighteen cities or college towns. Over ten thousand student delegates attended. They represented 291 schools and colleges.

Father Lord next called the first national sodality convention, to be held in Saint Louis. The team working for this convention included Father Gerald Fitzgibbons, then over-all director of the central office, Father Martin Carrabine, who was to serve Sodalities with devotion through long years, and Father William Puetter, whose interest in the Liturgical Movement carried over to Sodalists. Among the scholastics who participated were two men, A. J. Heeg and J. Roger Lyons, who were to be associated with the Sodality Service Center for much of the succeeding quarter of a century.

After this successful national convention, Father Lord conducted leadership schools in twenty cities—with over eleven thousand delegates participating. Following on this success, Father Gerard Donnelly, Father Lord's assistant for a year, held meetings a few months later to reaffirm the resolutions of the leadership schools.

The next important development in sodality promotion was the *Semester Outline*. Father J. Roger Lyons, successor to Father Donnelly, made a thorough study of sodality operations and needs during his first twelve months at the sodality center. The result was a service bulletin pointing out what can be done by a sodality seriously bent on Catholic action.

Extremely popular immediately, the *Semester Outline* continued to be an instrument of sodality programming for more than twenty years.

Father Lyons also promoted the annual spiritual bouquet for the Holy Father. A commonplace today, this practice had

a significant impact in the early Thirties in bringing sodalists closer to their Holy Father.

A third contribution of Father Lyons grew into an accepted Catholic practice throughout the nation. In an effort to help youth decide the perplexing problem of vocation, Father Lyons recommended a week of prayerful deliberation on the choice of a vocation. So favorable was the reaction to this project that the editors admitted that "the idea was immediately accepted in many parts of the country as one of the most worthy, most interesting, most effective projects ever suggested by the Central Office."[3]

Little wonder, it became a national Catholic practice with the selection of March as "Vocation Month."

Gradually Father Lord built a representative staff of Jesuits and dedicated lay people at the service center.

Father Lyons' work in the development of sodalities and the enriching of literature about them has received adequate coverage. He teamed with Father Lord at numerous conventions. He also prepared study club outlines on the communist conspiracy.

The distinguished catechist, Father Aloysius Heeg, had begun catechetical writing before his assignment to the sodality central office. Father Lord gave his full encouragement, even to setting up a cathechetical center. The extent of his work can best be judged by the wide sales of his catechism, *Jesus and I.* The Loyola University Press was to sell over five million copies by the time of the author's death. Father Heeg promoted sodalities in the grade schools of the country. Familiar with all recent documents on the sodality, he served as unofficial parliamentarian of the movement.

The most colorful personality of the staff, Father Edward Dowling, did conspicuous work through organizations. He gave his name and his time to Alcoholics Anonymous, the Cana Conference Movement, and to the work of Recovery, Inc. for nervous people. He was one of the most deeply revered priests of his generation; and the only priest listed in the book *Top Leadership, U.S.A.*[4]

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[3] *The Queen's Work*, XXVI: 6 (Mar., 1934), p. 9.

[4] Floyd Hunter, *Top Leadership, U.S.A.* Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1959, p. 20. The other two Catholic clergymen

Father Herbert Walker devoted most of his time to publications. He assisted and then succeeded Father Lord in the editing of *The Queen's Work*. He was also a popular lecturer and retreat master.

An example of the interest of the sodality center in the social apostolate was evidenced by the encouragement given Father George McDonald in his plans to set up a credit union promotional office. Some of the outstanding parish credit unions in the country and in Jesuit mission fields began as a result of this activity.

Father Leo Wobido assisted Father Lord in play directing. He edited *The Faculty Adviser*, a service bulletin for teachers, and promoted group recreation techniques.

Although not assigned to the sodality service center until many years later, Father Robert Bakewell Morrison of the Department of Religion of St. Louis University, worked closely with it over the years. He served as editorial consultant. He censored manuscripts. He participated in planning meetings and discussions.

All the while the lay staff of the sodality center was expanding. Most of these men and women were engaged in the business office. Several participated in the promotion of sodalities. Among these, mention should be made of Miss Dorothy Willmann, whose work in parish sodality promotion and other Catholic activities was to win for her the *Pro Ecclesia et Pontifice* medal from Pope Pius XII; Miss Marian Prendergast, who served as administrative assistant to Father Lord for many years; Miss Clementine Stahlsmith, business manager; Miss Evelyn Sexton, circulation manager; Miss Alice Schatzman, Managing Editor of *The Junior Sodalist;* and Miss Berniece Wolff, the historian of the sodality in the United States, who as Mother Mary Florence, S.L., is today a top leader in the Sister Formation Program.

A surprising number of members of the central office staff answered the call to the religious life or the priesthood over the years. The list includes Father Harry Linn, S.J., President of Creighton University, one diocesan priest, one Jesuit scholastic, two Trappist brothers and eighteen nuns.

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listed are their Eminences, Cardinals McIntyre and Spellman.

Often Father Lord tried to bring a full-time layman into sodality promotional work. At no time, however, was he able to offer a salary commensurate with the talents of men he wanted.

Father Lord thought of his staff as a family. He never tried to mold them into a tightly disciplined team. He let each pursue his own special interest and talents in addition to sodality promotion. He encouraged his co-workers to collaborate with existing associations in a wide variety of fields. He was one of the first business leaders in the community to breach the color bar, an accepted part of local life at the time. He urged the formation of a credit union among the lay staff.

Sodality Promotion

In his efforts to promote Sodalities in the United States, Father Lord urged the Fathers Provincial to appoint regional promoters. Once they were appointed, he worked toward the strengthening of their position. Beginning in 1939 in Chicago he invited the diocesan directors of Sodalities to gather for a three-day interchange. Out of this annual meeting grew the National Diocesan Sodality Directors' Conference. He promoted sodality unions on various levels—school, college, and adult.

As the American high school system grew, Father Lord was most successful in developing youth sodalities. The constant changing of high school officials, teachers, and students naturally hindered the continued advance of high school sodalities as organizations. But the effects on the individual members were deep—as, for one thing, the influence of Sodalities in the development of vocations attests.

Diocesan directors of youth have privately acknowledged Father Lord's part in the initial development of the wider Catholic youth program throughout the United States. But as the youth programs grew, the status of flourishing sodalities varied. In some dioceses the youth office set up a council which embraced various organizations in a truly catholic spirit. In others, all existing groups were disbanded in favor of a single, pre-determined association. In many places such an organization had not yet advanced beyond a blue-print.

A similar experience faced Sodality promoters on the adult

level. Many sodalities of women were able to move easily into the framework of the diocesan councils of women. Some were not.

Many sodalities of men and women were nothing more than pious societies, performing excellent parochial services, but with no commitment to a way of life. Some directors would have urged their discontinuance. Father Lord preferred to bring them to a more intense spiritual and apostolic life. Through the efforts of Miss Dorothy Willmann, some dramatic successes were achieved in women's sodalities in individual parishes.

Little success came with parish men's sodalities. Many which had flourished before World War II never got their second wind after the conflict.

Sodalities and individual sodalists pushed the laymen's retreat movement. In spite of this fact, and their similarity in spiritual outlook, the Laymen's Retreat Movement and the sodality have not yet found a formula for continued cooperation.

Within Jesuit schools and colleges, the sodality was ordinarily looked upon as a pious association—the special province of one man. Administrators gave it about as much consideration as they did sophomore religion classes. Few Jesuits thought of the sodality as an ordinary means of inculcating the Ignatian way of life; or as an extension of their own personalities, much less as a training ground for their students to enter into the apostolic mission of the Church.

Pamphlet Publication

The publication of sodality literature brought to Father Lord's attention the wider reading needs of sodalists. Gradually he undertook an extensive range of subjects to instruct Catholic people in their religion. His chief format was the pamphlet.

At first, pamphlets appeared spasmodically. In 1931, he put order in their production by starting the "Pamphlet-a-month guild." He wrote most of them himself. But other Jesuits contributed. Outstanding among these was Father LeBuffe, who popularized mental prayer among sodalists of the nation.

Father Lord published two hundred and thirty-three pam-

phlets. Total sales have gone over twenty five million copies already, and no sales let-up of his top-flight titles appears in prospect. He was the greatest religious pamphleteer of his generation.

Some superficial observers have presumed that Father Lord wrote exclusively—or at least predominantly—for youth. To the contrary, his most successful pamphlets are adult in scope and destination.

Other critics have dismissed his pamphlets with the remark: "I never cared for Father Hall's talks with the happy little Bradley twins on the summer porch." Father Lord brought in the Bradley twins and Father Hall frequently. The introduction of this conversation technique was simply to make the message easier for parishioners not accustomed to reading spiritual messages.

The Bradley twins do not appear in Father Lord's outstanding pamphlets, such as *Death Isn't Terrible, Has Life Any Meaning?, Prayers are Always Answered, Confession is a Joy, Christ and Women,* and *The All American Girl.* These perennials are as popular today as when they were written.

Some will remark that Father Lord was not a business man. That's quite possible. It is true, however, that he took a small publishing office and turned it into a flourishing business. He assisted mission lands with large amounts of sodality material. He lent a hand to the Church throughout the English-speaking world by allowing many of his writings to be reprinted gratuitously in other countries. Scores have been translated into foreign languages.

Even though he gave so much time to sodality promotion and to writing projects, Father Lord had the energy and talent for a variety of other apostolic works needed by the Church in the Thirties. In all of these he was a great teacher, as His Excellency, Bishop Charles Helmsing, was to remind his listeners in Father Lord's eulogy.

He produced plays and pageants. He engaged in public debates. He lectured. He conducted a successful radio program. He advised movie producers on Catholic attitudes. He served as chief consultant for the encyclical on the movies. He counselled married couples. He wrote books. Throughout this

vast activity, bits of his genius showed intermittently. Without question, he could have produced a play, an operetta, a novel, a piece of non-fiction which would have endured. But the versatile apostle was concerned with the here-and-now needs of souls. He would live in the next generation through the countless young people to whom he was such a stirring inspiration.

In summarizing his life, historians may well remember another achievement. He came into a post-World War I America that was throwing off the last vestiges of puritanism, a spirit it confused with religion. Father Lord taught an entire generation that religion was meant to permeate one's complete life with a true joy in the possession of God. He thus helped to direct the religious spirit of the American people on sound pathways.

SSCA

The Summer School of Catholic Action, another instrument of sodality promotion, began in 1931 as a formal academic institute under the co-sponsorship of the sodality central office and the Sociology Department of St. Louis University. The originator of the idea was Miss Willmann. Father Lord carved it out, with the enthusiastic cooperation of Father Joseph Husslein, S.J., head of St. Louis University's Department of Sociology.

A two-week session for late August seemed to fit in best with the purposes of the program and the schedule of the anticipated "one-hundred students." The suburban campuses of Fontbonne and Webster colleges would make an ideal locale. Students wishing credit were to attend a minimum of five class hours a day and take examinations at the end of the twelve days. The goal of the sessions was to train Catholic leaders in the what, why, and how of Sodality action.

Fathers Lord, Lyons, Weisenberg, LeBuffe, Puetter, Heeg, and Gerald Ellard, Sisters Mary Clyde, S.L., and Joseph Aloysius, C.S.J., and Miss Willmann, and Miss Wolff made up the faculty. Miss Marian Prendergast served as managing director. Among the 400 adult participants were 250 priests, brothers, seminarians, and sisters. A few collegians but almost no high school students attended.

The success of this first school might be gauged from this fact: some of the participants still form the backbone of the Sodality movement in their dioceses and schools.

After a second successful year in St. Louis, the staff went on the road in 1933. It held schools in New Orleans, New York, and Milwaukee. The academic and adult aspect of the earlier years gave way gradually to a greater informality and wider participation by high schoolers. By 1938 the schools began to grow both in the number of participants and in the choice of the host cities.

The SSCA planners gradually tried to cover all sections of the country every summer. New York and Chicago became standard sites. In other regions the host city would vary. In the Texas area, for instance, one year San Antonio, the next year Dallas, and the following year Houston would host the sessions. Sometimes the sessions were held at summer camps, sometimes at Catholic or state universities, and sometimes in convention hotels. Gradually a standard formula was adopted; this included classes, discussions, public worship, and a recreation program.

From their very origin, all the SSCAs were racially integrated. In many areas of the nation they were the pioneer, integrated activity on a religious, educational, cultural or social level. In planning his interracial program, incidentally, Father Lord conferred with Father John LaFarge who regularly taught a course in racial justice at the New York session of the SSCA.

The SSCA likewise, first introduced the dialogue Mass and other forms of congregational participation in many of the areas of the country.

The SSCAs helped, further, to promote the greater participation by religious women in formal summer courses at various universities. At the time of the first SSCA, a nun rarely left her convent for a convention or an institute. In promoting participation by religious, Father Lord fostered the wider educational and cultural opportunities enjoyed by nuns today.

The SSCAs soon became a well established part of American Catholic life. They brought together Catholic people and their priest directors and brother and sister moderators from

heavily Catholic areas as well as the Bible Belt. They promoted the Sodality movement and inculcated leadership for all youth activity. They taught young people to create their own fun in a healthy, Catholic atmosphere. Many diocesan priests have pointed out that they form the only Jesuit-sponsored activity in many dioceses of the country.

Changing Picture

During World War II, Father Lord was appointed to the post of Director of the Institute of Social Order. He went at this new task with the same exuberance he displayed in producing pageants or debating public issues.

He hoped to use sodality outlets as a means of spreading the social doctrine of the Church. He set up an Office of Social Action in conjunction with the sodality headquarters, in a building purchased for the purpose on South Grand Boulevard, about twenty blocks beyond the St. Louis University Medical Center. The Fathers Provincial assigned a band of priests to this newly created office. Some directors who took a limited view of sodality life had criticized him earlier for having allowed the sodality headquarters to be associated with family life activities, the credit union and cooperative movements, the promotion of inter-racial justice, and various aspects of the anti-Communism crusade. His new appointment seemed to vindicate his decision in this matter.

Criticism now came from a new quarter. Many Jesuits questioned his competence in the social field. While Fr. Lord never claimed competence in any social field, he was, as a matter of obvious fact, competent, though not scholarly trained, in at least the field of family relations, and aware of needs in most areas of social life. He saw his position as that of a map-maker giving directions to many competent individuals.

The greatest opposition to Father Lord, however, did not come from our few social scientists. Instead it came from educationists who saw the entire social apostolate as a withdrawal from our academic commitments, and from community critics who found in the disparagement of the popularizing techniques of Father Lord a cloak for their own professional ineffectiveness.

As part of the total social apostolate, Father Lord had envisioned an office of social research. This would be set up when enough men were trained professionally. In 1948 for a variety of reasons, the wider ISO program was abandoned in favor of this one area. Father Lord was removed from the directorship, and devoted his full time to writing and lecturing.[5]

In spite of the high quality of work of several members of the new ISO, incidentally, some educationists continued to criticize Jesuit activity in the social apostolate, although outstanding ISO scholars still refer approvingly to specific writings of Father Lord.

When the towering figure of Father Lord left the sodality scene, many observers predicted that the sodality promotion, the SSCAs, and the publishing program would lose their vigor. To their surprise, Father Lord had built so well that all three continued without let-up. One main contributing factor was the great personal loyalty of nuns of the United States and Canada.

In 1949 Pope Pius XII gave fresh impetus to the sodality movement with his Apostolic Constitution, *Bis Saeculari.* Father Lyons was then serving as acting National Promoter of Sodalities. At his death in 1950, Father Heeg took his place. The SSCAs no longer headlined one man; instead they relied more heavily on teamwork. They continued strong in tried areas. They advanced to new fields, especially the Southeast and the Pacific Coast.

The pamphlet publishing program had been predominantly, but not exclusively, a Father Lord enterprise. As a matter of fact, he had invited the participation of other Jesuits as well as diocesan priests, men of other religious orders and congregations, sisters and lay people.

Father Aloysius Coomes, S.J., for instance, wrote *Mother's Manual,* a one-hundred page prayer book whose annual sales during the late 1950s were fifty eight thousand. Father Gerald

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[5] A thorough analysis of the travails of the ISO is beyond the scope of this paper; only those aspects which cast light on the history of the sodality service center will be recounted here. For a more full look at this matter, we refer you to an excellent survey of Father Joseph Fitzpatrick, entitled, "New Direction in the Social Apostolate," in *Woodstock Letters,* Vol. 88, No. 2 (April 1959), pp. 115-130.

Kelly turned over to *The Queen's Work* the publishing of his best-selling *Modern Youth and Chastity*. Since 1947, these two booklets sold 717,854 and 734,875 copies respectively. Father Paul Bruckner wrote *How to Give Sex Instructions*, a book destined for extensive and continued use. Vocational and youth guidance pamphlets have been heavy sellers through the decades. Youth guidance and catechetical materials have had great popularity in other countries, especially Ireland.

Father Wobido carried on this splendid tradition as pamphlet editor. He sought even wider participation from his fellow Jesuits.

Father Francis Filas, internationally recognized authority on St. Joseph, wrote several pamphlets on his favorite saint, and one on the Holy Family. Father John Ford submitted manuscripts on his areas of speciality, alcoholism and psychoanalysis. Father John Thomas wrote on marriage and population questions; Father Joseph McGloin on the interests of youth; Fathers Norman Jorgensen, Paul Stauder, and John Scott on a variety of topics. It was Father Wobido who asked the present writer to prepare his first pamphlet manuscript.

Best known of the non-Jesuit priest writers was Father Winifrid Herbst, S.D.S., who wrote a dozen titles. Father John Maguire of the Archdiocese of St. Louis published three pamphlets on the sacraments. Nuns contributed their share of top sellers. To instance two, Sister Mary Raphæl wrote vocation pamphlets, and Sister Emily Joseph offered *Reflections for a Novena to St. Joseph.*

The list of outstanding lay contributors includes the names of Dr. Clement Mihanovich, Ed Mack Miller, Martin Duggan, Tere Rios, Ines Slate and Michael Harrington.

A Community

Until 1951, the priests assigned to the Sodality Central Office had resided either at St. Louis University, St. Louis University High School, or one of the Jesuit parishes in the city. Now the sixth floor of the Queen's Work office building became the new residence. Father Fred Zimmerman was first superior of the community.

Father Richard Rooney of the New England Province, an

active sodality leader and contributor to various sodality publications, became National Promoter of Sodalities in 1953.

Father James McQuade, nationally known TV personality, and Director of the Department of Theology at John Carroll University, succeeded Father Rooney as National Promoter and replaced Father Zimmerman as community superior in September 1956. The latter remained business manager of the publishing activities and director of the SSCAs.

A National Federation of Sodalities of Our Lady was established, with His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Ritter as honorary episcopal moderator, and His Excellency, Bishop Leo Byrne (then Auxiliary of St. Louis and now Coadjutor of Wichita) as executive episcopal moderator. The new federation acted as host organization and the central office assisted in the preparatory work for the World Congress of Sodalities held at Seton Hall University in Newark, New Jersey, in August 1959.

Under Father McQuade's direction, the Sodality family of publications was up-dated and enriched, and the province promoters became more vocal in general Sodality affairs.

In the fall of 1960, plans were discussed to move the sodality service center to Washington. At this juncture, Father General sent a special Visitor, Very Rev. Gordon F. George, S.J., Provincial of the Upper Canadian Province, to inspect the Queen's Work. At his recommendation, Father General ordered the continuation of activities in St. Louis, and placed the entire unified operation under the direction of Father Joseph P. MacFarlane, S.J., of the New England Province, Director of Retreats at Eastern Point Retreat House. Father MacFarlane had previously served as business manager of *Jesuit Missions* for fourteen years and of *America* for four.

The continuation of Sodality promotion in St. Louis under a unified command brought a gradual clarification of the promotional picture. The relationship of the province promoters with the central office became clearer. The National Diocesan Sodality Directors' Conference broadened its scope to include all sodality directors. The development of professional sodalities continued. All publications assumed a fresh look. The magazines put greater emphasis on strictly sodality activities. The SSCAs aimed more directly at Sodality purposes.

Father MacFarlane was assisted by a constantly expanding lay staff and four Jesuits. Father James Condon of the Chicago Province continued as director of the Summer Schools of Catholic Action. Father John Campbell of the Missouri Province directed the youth department, served as Dean of the SSCAs and executive editor of the magazines. Father Al Levet of the New Orleans Province promoted adult sodalities and edited sodality publications. The present writer edited non-sodality pamphlets.

Two years, of course, are too short a period to assess with any definitiveness what these changes will mean in the future of the Queen's Work. As it moves into its second half-century, however, the high word is hope. The picture looks more promising than at any time since Father Lord took over almost forty years ago.

Blessed Ignace Mangin and His Companions, Martyrs[1]

Rosario Renaud, S.J.

On Low Sunday, April 17, 1955, His Holiness Pius XII beatified four French Jesuits and fifty-two Catholic Chinese martyred by the Boxers in 1900. The group which the Church presents for our veneration blends into a common glory priests and laymen, women, and children of various ages and environments. For the most part they were simple country folk and missionaries not particularly different from their associates until martyrdom.

In his *Apostolic Letter* of that April, Pius said: "The Catholic populace of China brought great praise upon themselves through the flock who bore witness to Christ with their blood, through the shepherds who confirmed the message of truth with their death. And the family of Loyola, which was from its very beginning intensely eager to join these parts of the Orient to the kingdom of God, is therein honored."[2]

Part I: The Persecutors

To say "martyr" is to say "persecutor." These are the individuals whose hatred of Catholicism leads them to massacre Catholics. Certainly these men did not at all see the large scale reactions which their campaign slogan summarized: *Fou Ts'ing, miè Yang:* "Let us uphold (the ruling dynasty) Ts'ing; let us exterminate the foreigners."

Exterminate foreigners! It was the battle-cry that had electrified all enslaved people at one moment or other of their

[1] *Editor's note:* This article originally appeared in French in *Lettres du Bas-Canada,* IX (1955) #3 pp. 133-57, printed by the Jesuits of Canada for Jesuit circulation. The article has been translated by Joseph Cahill, S.J., and adapted for use here.

[2] Apostolic letter of Pius XII, April 17, 1955, in *AAS,* June 25, 1955, p. 381.

history, and it produced powerful vibrations in the Chinese ear. It is not that the Chinese is by nature afflicted with fear of strangers. His sense of hospitality, his courtesy, his centuries-old habit of living on intimate terms with his parents and neighbors rather inclines him to a tolerance rarely observed elsewhere. But since 1842 China had suffered from a humiliating wound. Not only had she not been able to conceal it, but year by year it grew worse. Following the example of the English, the Americans and the French, the countries of Europe had carved out concessions for themselves. They had imposed degrading treaties. They had monopolized foreign trade. They had entrenched their own customs—customs contrary to everything China loved and venerated.

Bit by bit they dismembered the empire. In 1895 the Japanese cut off Formosa, in July of 1897 the Germans seized the bay of Kiaochow, England, in July of 1898, seized Weihaiwei, meanwhile Russia "borrowed" Port Arthur and France took Changchow.

Hundreds of articles, thousands of placards, for the most part anonymous, denounced these encroachments. They incited the people to hurl themselves on the invaders. Addressing themselves to an unlettered mass far more concerned with daily bread than with international questions, the writers set out only to stimulate public opinion. They exaggerated. They lied. They predicted horrible catastrophes.

"Train soldiers quickly," says one of these writings, "for thirteen foreign kingdoms are going to come to attack China. China will be severely troubled. There will be soldiers massed like a mountain; generals like an ocean. There will be hills of bones; blood will flow like rivers. It is for this reason that all, without distinction of sex or age, give themselves to the divine exercises (the Boxers), to learn the skills of their immortal ancestors, to escape the perils of war, and to avoid this gigantic catastrophe."

Indeed the Europeans are veritable demons. To take over China and its wealth, they have recourse to frightening methods. Their railroads and the mines which they work trouble the spirits of the ground which cries for vengeance. They "put poison in the wells, in the rivers, in the seas, in the foods, in the market-places. Only those well-versed in the

divine cunning are able to avoid the poison. Even native Chinese, seduced by the western devils, spread these poisons; what they do not buy at the market-place is poisoned. Beware of them!"[3]

These defamed Chinese, outcasts of the nation, were the converts of the missionaries. "Christians disturb the world by leaning on the Europeans. They are arrogant. They insult simple folk. They attack the teaching of our holy ones. Their leaders build their high churches on the ruins of our holy pagodas; they deceive the ignorant, pervert the youth; they tear out their hearts and their eyes to make of them a magic potion; they poison the wells, and so on. . . . Countrymen, rise up; set your heart and your soul only on the death of the western devils and the destruction of their religion!"[4]

One should not be fooled by the motives which guided these authors. The patriotic varnish covered a raging jealousy and an unceasing antagonism to anything which threatened their privileged position. Invective and curses did not, perhaps, exercise a great influence on the upright people who formed, in China as elsewhere, the majority. But to men of evil intention, on the lookout for trouble, such threats furnished a handy pretext and an encouragement to crime. How many religious institutions were destroyed or ransacked by local hoodlums stimulated by these placards. More precisely, south of Shantung, a gang of killers, armed-robbers, good-for-nothings, and misfits, plotted a vast undertaking of plunder, principally directed against the Catholics.

"Big-Knife Society"

The "Big-Knife Society" to which they belonged presented itself under an athletic label. Its members devoted themselves to physical exercises and to fencing, and especially to the use of a type of iron saber, whence the name.

So far there was nothing with which to find fault. You could find dozens of similar organizations in China. The "Society of the Big-Knife" was nevertheless distinguished by

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[3] See the complete text of this poster in *Études*, August 5, 1900, p. 390. (The French spelling of geographical names has been retained.) [Tr.]

[4] *Études, loc. cit.*, p. 391.

its revolutionary doctrine and by the possession of a magic secret which conferred invulnerability.

Established no one knows when, the "Big-Knife Society" first defied the Manchus, rulers of China, and in 1809, a decree of the emperor, Kia K'king, dissolved it. The organization did not die so easily. It even continued to grow and to infiltrate the provinces bordering on Kiangsu and Hopeh.

For more than half a century, the Society wisely restrained its activity to local feuds and to the thefts which feuds inspire. The political tendency showed up with the appearance of Catholicism in the part of Shantung which the members of the "Big-Knife Society" almost dominated. The leaders felt an instinctive hatred for the Gospel which condemned their violence. Henceforth, their lawless plunder was to take on the appearance of a crusade against the religion of the west.

For thirty years, the heroic apostles of southern Shantung, the Fathers of the Divine Word, clashed with these savage enemies who destroyed churches as fast as they were built.

In 1896 the "Big-Knife Society" enlarged its field of operations and advanced into Süchow. Howkiachwang and Taitolow blazed up. A large number of Christian communities lost their chapels and schools. Hundreds of Catholic families were ruined. But this adventure turned out badly for the pillagers. The citizens of Süchow threw themselves on the hordes, killing a good number of these self-styled invulnerables, and trailing all the way to the frontier the survivors who had taken to their heels. After the attack, the army intervened and decapitated some of the underlings. The Society, having drawn too much attention, once again went under the ban of the empire.

The humiliating defeat of Süchow did not dishearten the Society. The very next year, under the protection of the Mandarins, it lifted its head. However, it had changed the name. No longer was it called "The Big-Knife Society," but rather, *"I Ho Kiuen,"* "Fighters for Justice and Concord." Significantly, it had found the phrase which would open the gates of Peking and which was to bring on it an inglorious fame: *"Fou Ts'ing, miè Yang"*; "Let us uphold the ruling dynasty; let us exterminate the foreigner." On November 1, 1897, the "Fighters" or "Boxers," assassinate two German

missionaries of Shantung, Fathers Nies and Henle of the Society of the Divine Word. In reprisal, sixteen days later, Germany seizes Kiaochow. The fuse is lit.

Within hours the Boxers have taken on national importance. To all corners of the country rumor propagates their anti-foreigner program and the astonishing power which the Boxers possess. The agitation is extreme in the backward section of northern China where famine so often obliges the people to go into exile or to pilfer to avoid death from famine. And in this year (1898) the harvest was poor. The populace then, listens attentively to the recruiting officers of the Society who promise them the property of others. Certainly it will be necessary to seize it, but without any risk, since bullet, spear, and saber cannot harm a duly initiated Boxer. Incantation has rendered their bodies impenetrable.

Such were the affirmations of the leaders; and the people believed them. Their unenlightened minds, filled with superstition, saw nothing strange in this phenomenon. Folklore swarmed with good and evil genii who revealed to man certain secrets of their power. Obviously the Boxers enjoyed the special favor of another world.

And besides, to dissipate all doubts, the Society everywhere organizes demonstrations. In the evening, in front of the assembled village, a Boxer, escorted by his sponsors, approaches an altar on which burn some red candles. He prostrates himself. He invokes the protecting demon. He recites in a low voice the magic formula which renders him immune from wounds. When he feels the spirit's presence within, he stands erect and presents his naked body to members of the claque who strike and spear him. The weapons break against his chest. Saber blows do not even mark his skin. The eeriness, the incense, the diabolical trickery and the fear which paralyses his assistants—witnesses to the miracle of a flesh which nothing cuts—all these create a perplexing atmosphere, favorable for gaining recruits.

The hope of ill-gotten gain adds its own attraction, for the Boxers cleverly join theory and practice—propaganda-shows and the pillage of Christian communities. The Society was well-practiced on the German missionaries; soon it hurls

its bands toward the northwest into Chihli (modern Hopeh), and it invades the Apostolic Vicariate of the Jesuits of the Champagne province.

Offensive Begins

It is spring of 1899. In every county small cells arise. Placards are put in even the smallest villages. And the Boxers, like fire in gasoline vapor, spread to the capital. At the start of 1900 there are an estimated 40,000 affiliated and trained at Peking in preparation for the decisive battle against the foreigners.

Quite opposite to the Mandarins of Shantung who openly patronize the Boxer Society, the Mandarins of Hopeh feel that this eruption of demons is unfortunate. Unfortunate for the Mandarins indeed, for the scavengers ravage the lands from which the Mandarins draw their income. This is not to mention the fact that the plunder, the fires, the murders expose them to ruinous costs and to an unbearable loss of face, even to disgrace if they do not re-establish the order for which they are responsible.

Against these fanatics who threaten the Chinese Christians who have adopted the religion of the West, the Mandarins should be severe since the end of the law is to protect all the citizens. Many of the Mandarins would unhesitatingly enforce the law, as much out of personal conviction as out of friendship for the priests and the apostolic work whose character they appreciate. But they lack the armed force necessary to confirm their good will. The troops which they command are already more than half made up of plunderers; the soldiers themselves refuse to offend the Boxers whose insolence is increasing and who defy authority right up to Yamien. The Boxers Society is, finally, opposed only to foreigners and to Christians; hence the Mandarins, who personally feel no danger, stand aloof.

Still, in general, motives other than justice will guide the Mandarins. They sense, as if provided with antennae, the tremors which agitate the people—the unrest, the tension, the unformulated desires and fears. What does their own interest call for? To set out after these bands or to make use of them? They check the track before starting the race. Instinct keeps

them from committing themselves too quickly. Who knows what the Empress will decide? More especially, who knows how this movement will turn out? Practically all the revolutions in China have had their start in this way.

Tzu Hsi, the Empress, hesitates. Not that she sympathizes with the foreigners, nor that she concerns herself in the least either with the thousands of Chinese Catholics killed in a few months by the Boxers or with the thousands of others threatened by the same fate. A supreme egoist, she thinks only of maintaining her position which she owes to intrigue. At the court as in the provinces, opinion on the subject of the Boxers is divided. Revolutionaries and a few gullible individuals follow them as they would a Messiah. Some others, in particular, prince Toan, advisor of the Empress, plan to profit from the troubles to achieve their ambitions, and they endeavor to convince the sovereign to play this trump card in the maneuvers against the Europeans. Many true patriots are not so foolish, and they recommend smothering a movement they call rebellion while the power to crush it is at hand. This anti-foreigner campaign, they say, is only a blind; the throne is what is being sought.

Perhaps the Empress already knew this. At heart the people thoroughly despised the Manchus, conquerors whom they fed with their labor. To the Manchus the people attributed all the evils which the nation then suffered, as well as the humiliations undergone by China for sixty years. For Tzu Hsi the ease with which the Boxers enrolled the malcontents was a strong indication of popular sentiment. At the peak which the movement had attained, repression would surely provoke civil war, a revolution, the fall of the dynasty.

Tzu Hsi weighed all this. More sly than intelligent, skilled at unravelling in her own favor the intrigues of the harem, she thought it wiser to divert the Boxer-movement and to channel its vigor against the Western Barbarians. In the spring of 1900 several imperial decrees commanded the army to ally themselves to the rebels and the viceroys to put their forces at the disposition of the liberators of the land.

The outcome of this tragic decision is known: the expeditionary European force which seized Tientsin and Peking, the flight of the court, the costly indemnifications.

Part II: The Persecuted

Modern Hopeh was formerly called Chihli (*Tchély*). It is located in the southeastern part of the province which the Champagne Jesuits received as a mission in 1857. To their charge were committed about eight million inhabitants among whom there were nine thousand Catholics, the descendants of those converted before 1724.

In 1900, the mission of southeast Chihli included fifty thousand baptized, thousands of catechumens who were in the process of being instructed, and fifty-nine missionaries, of whom one was a bishop and forty-seven were priests. The priests did good sound work. The main buildings (residence, seminaries, college, printing shop, and so on) formed a walled-in compound near Sienhsien. Thanks to a closely-knit network of missionary posts served by one or more priests, after the fashion of our own parishes, the divine life was widely diffused.

Catholics and pagans lived together generally on good enough terms. Because the poor and almost illiterate farmers worked twelve to fifteen hours a day they were little inclined to religious fanaticism. Undoubtedly there were frictions: lawsuits, family and village quarrels, personal rights injured. But since the abrogation of the anti-Catholic decrees of 1845, the converts were no longer treated as a group outside the law to be taxed or robbed at will.

Wrong was not always on the side of the pagan. A liking for cavilling sometimes stimulated the baptized to dishonest practices which tarnished the reputation of the Church. There were some who abused the influence of the priest and initiated intrigue or sold their testimony against the innocent. Furthermore, whatever the cause of disputes may have been, the foreign missionaries kept an eye out for the correct settlement of conflicts, and they protested as soon as religion was involved. Because of the treaties, they themselves escaped the jurisdiction of Chinese courts. Through the intervention of their consuls they could take action to a higher authority. Local Mandarins were not unaware of this. Also, to avoid reprimands, the majority of local Mandarins tried to maintain a kind of peace even while punishing the unruly.

In the greater number of Christian communities, as well among the old Catholics as among the new, there was a noticeably strong faith, practised with a great deal of simplicity and fervor. Their dispersion and the long distances required for travel to receive the sacraments deprived the people of many spiritual helps. Yet when it came time to choose death or apostasy, very few made the wrong choice.

For some thirty years the spread of the gospel was peaceful. The Church extended her influence, and little by little, turned public opinion in her favor. There was no fear at the reports, circulating since the beginning of 1898, of approaching riots, the massacre of converts, and the destruction of churches. The threat at its beginning was sufficiently far away. And as it was aimed especially at foreigners, terrible people, the presumption was that the authorities would restore order promptly. In fact, the troubles of Shantung and a serious uprising at Hopeh in the autumn of 1898 caused the dismissal of some of the higher-ups who were involved. This measure taken by the court following the protests of the English consul of Tientsin did not, however, mean anything significant, since no one bothered the leaders of the Boxers and their satellites.

In the spring of 1899, the Boxers again invaded Hopeh and appeared in the county of Hokien, then in the county of Kingchow, the district of Father Mangin. Placards, magic-shows, assassinations and plunder which immediately followed left no doubt as to the intentions of the Boxers. They were poorly armed, undisciplined, and they hardly knew the territory. One single regiment would have scattered them like a flight of birds.

Attempts at Defense

The Catholics and the missionaries had considered the problem of legitimate defense. In several of the villages in which the priests ministered, some of the baptized successfully defended themselves by force. The priests had encouraged them to repel the attacks and even to take the offensive against the enemy of their religion. But before a real civil war started, the missionaries tried to obtain the legal protection to which they had a right.

Ever since the first skirmishes in the spring of 1899, Father

Mangin had sent a list of the principal leaders of the Boxers and a list of their propaganda-centers to the sub-prefect of Oukiao, requesting that he prevent the spread of the sect. In July he sent another request to the nearby sub-prefect of Kingchow, asking amends for a Christian who had been beaten. The priest found out quickly that he was counting in vain on the help of local officers. Those whom he had seen promised to do something, but were content with remonstrances or timid complaints which the guilty had openly scorned. A sub-prefect who had tried to cajole the Boxers, but who feared retaliation, ran to Father Mangin: "I am going to warn the viceroy," he said. "I beg that you inform your consul; all we local Mandarins are without any means of repression."[5] And that was precisely the case.

The superiors of the mission also tried recourse to higher officials. A detailed report presented to the prefect of Hokien and by his intervention transmitted to the viceroy of Hopeh seemed to shake off the apathy.

The viceroy delegated a Mister Tao who met Father Mangin on the eighth of November. It might have been thought that this official was a plenipotentiary. Indeed, his mission was confined to "make amends for a burned chapel and to prevent the Boxers from entering into conflict with the Christians." He made inquiries in many villages. He promised to put into prison the chief Boxer, Wang K'ing-i, but he had to relinquish the idea because the troop refused to execute the mandate of arrest.

The delegate returned to Peking on November 26th, fully informed of the gravity of the situation. His account of his recent inspection and the overtures of the French consul at Tientsin influenced the viceroy of Hopeh to send soldiers.

It was somewhat late. When, at the end of December, 1899, General Mei gained access with three regiments to the counties where the Boxers were on the rampage, forty-five Christian communities had been plundered. Around the main residence of Sienhsien, the Boxers were gathering their forces for the assault.

Orders of General Mei were directed only to the protection

[5] *Études, loc. cit.*, p. 376.

of foreigners. This energetic officer, a friend of the mission, posted his men in the neighborhood of the important parish houses and fought vigorously against the Boxers who attacked them. Thanks to him, several missionaries escaped the massacre. But in the villages, the Catholics were at the mercy of the marauders, daily more numerous and better armed, who butchered and burned with impunity.

The Storm Breaks

June, July, August of 1900. The fury reached a climax. The Empress had chosen the Boxers and had unleashed a hellish pack of hounds. The Catholics were condemned. The efforts of the priests to assure their protection succeeded only in slowing down the outcome. For a year, always on the alert, they had seen hopes of human help, one after the other, disappear: the mandarins of the counties, the army, the diplomatic force of France and of their own government. God alone was able to save them.

Some Catholics, the exceptions, apostasized; others were finally growing weak. But the majority remained staunch. In the Christian communities a redoubling of fervor was apparent: all wished to go to confession lest they be caught unawares by the hangmen. All around them were death and ruin; their turn was next; anguish tortured them. Hundreds of families, too much exposed in the outlying towns which they inhabited, had abandoned their homes and their possessions to take refuge in the enclosure of the missionaries. Many, while on the road, fell into the hands of the Boxers who massacred them on the spot because they preferred death to apostasy.

Thousands of others had reached one of the six Catholic "fortresses," that is, villages or fortified enclosures; and there they prepared, with the assistance of the priests and the sisters, for the fate which Providence had in store for them. The Boxers took only one of these fortresses, Chukiaho—again thanks to the support of the soldiers. But there they killed two Jesuits and one thousand eight hundred baptized Catholics.

These martyrs were in large part timid peasants, accustomed to yield before the demands of riches and power. Only

one word was demanded of them: "*Pei kiao,*" "I renounce my religion." But neither rage nor curses, nor promises were able to extract it from them. In their own way they were heroes, humbly, firmly convinced that their testimony would open heaven to them.

Some of them had not been very fervent. Now they seized the opportunity which God gave them to redeem with one blow the negligences of the past. Furthermore, how many souls were admirably transformed by grace, how many hearts filled with perfect love! What faith, what child-like trust in this gentle people swallowed up in the Chinese prairies! Their actions prolong those of Christ; their words resound as the echo of the first Christians.[6]

Before death the priests manifested the tranquil but unbreakable courage which stamped as true the quality of their interior life. Their attitude does not surprise us. All of them, before leaving their homes, had thought of the prospect of martyrdom, and they accepted it. Each morning they offered their sacrifice with that of Our Lord and, over the years, the scope of their apostolic labor, the isolation, their weakness had given them the habit of confiding their anxieties to Him whom they represented in these out-posts of the Church, of leaning on Him in the smallest temptation to discouragement or fear. The grace of the martyr does not effect a gradual transformation in the soul; it gloriously crowns a way of life, of religious practices—a spirit and a tendency toward perfection within the reach of the average religious. In the community of southeast Chihli at the beginning of this century, the majority of the missionaries were hoping for the grace of martyrdom. To four was it given.

Father Mangin

Tall and well-built, a man of vigorous appearance, Léon-Ignace Mangin had a martial air about him.[7] Socially he was

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[6] Read the interesting parallel of Father Mertens between the Chinese martyrs and the Roman martyrs in *Études*, January, 1930, pp. 57 ff. There you will find characteristics whose beauty yields in no respect to the sublime accounts of western martyrs.

[7] Here we give a resumé of the biographical notes published in the special issue of *Chine, Madagascar* of May, 1955, pp. 75 ff. Father Mangin was born at Verny, near Metz, on the night of July 30 or 31, 1857, the eleventh child in the family.

inevitably the life of the party. He was eighteen years old when he went to the novitiate of Saint-Acheul on November 5, 1875. In 1881, he was named professor in the first year of high school at the Collège de Saint-Servais at Liège. "I remember," recounts one of his former students, "his face, always smiling; his kindness and his animation in class. . . . While supervising athletics, he would participate very little in the games; but he used to chat a great deal with the students. Far from being severe, he was very gentle; and it must be said that his sweet disposition was sometimes abused."

He had put in a request for the foreign missions. Because of the absorbing nature of his work with high school boys, he thought no more of it. At the end of his first year teaching his Provincial proposed China to him. It was a shock, but one from which Léon-Ignace quickly recovered. "My request has been granted," he said to a fellow-Jesuit; "only one thing yet remains, the grace of martyrdom."

After his ordination on July 31, 1886, he applied himself entirely to the active apostolate. "He was a man fit to rule—intelligent, capable of decision, calm and firm, gifted with the strength to finish anything he started, and filled with a contagious cheerfulness. Not at all an unrestrained enthusiast, he was ruled by reason. Always precise, he was a man of vision and could put order into everything. He was sufficiently ingenious to avoid becoming mired in the details of Chinese diplomacy and knew how to terminate successfully even the most delicate piece of business.

Such was the man whom superiors placed at the head of the Hokien district as soon as he had finished Tertianship in 1890. It was an important assignment since the area contained 20,000 Catholics spread throughout 240 mission-stations which were served by nine priests. On March 3, 1897, Father Mangin modestly writes: "What a life! I have spent seven years in the courts, either as plaintiff or defendant."

Business transactions with the Mandarins and the details of administration consumed very much time and demanded frequent visits to Yamien. The duties of the "Minister of the Area" or the "Rural Dean" were quite extensive. It was he who directed and united the common efforts of priest and faithful. He encouraged, he strengthened; at times, he repri-

manded. More frequently he was the minister of consolation. At the same time he watched the overall discipline; he saw to it that directives from higher superiors were followed; and he was in charge of the spiritual and temporal administration of each of his mission-stations. His task it was to foresee the future, to provide for new Catholic groups, to buy the land for future Church establishment. Briefly, he was the eye and the arm of the Bishop in the practical execution of the spread of the gospel.

In his daily contact he encountered all types: missionaries, both foreign and Chinese, Catholics and pagans, friends and enemies, natives, officers, Mandarins. It was his problem to solve the thorny cases which the curates quite willingly took to him. The rural Dean not only manifested a variety of talents, but he practiced each of the small and larger virtues which distinguish the apostle from the business executive.

At the end of 1897 Father Mangin left Hokien and went to the Kingchow section, a little farther south. There martyrdom awaited him.

Father Paul Denn

Father Paul Denn, born at Lille, April 1, 1847, hardly seemed destined to die in China. When he was two years old his father died and his mother had to do manual labor to support her five small children. Father Denn, at the age of fourteen, contributed his share by working in a bank.

Impetuous, exuberant, and quite pious, he wanted to become a priest and work on the missions. But he did not enter the Apostolic School of Amiens until 1869 when his family no longer needed his help.

Meanwhile, he had discovered the poor and to them he devoted his leisure hours. He became acquainted with them in the various youth organizations or in the St. Vincent de Paul Society. He himself, in 1867, established the Society of St. Augustine for young laborers, clerks, and employees in Lille.

He was received into the Society of Jesus on July 6, 1872. Almost immediately he set out for China. He was then twenty-five years old, but he made up for lost time by skipping several stages of scholastic training. At the end of 1880 he was ordained and his dream of being an apostle was realized. He

was to be successively curate, director of a central school, then director of a normal school training catechists. Finally, he became a curate at Kucheng, in the territory of Father Mangin, in the year 1897. "In all these positions he showed himself to be a thorough religious, quite hard on himself, and a zealous and outstanding teacher." In his letters thoughts of martyrdom recur like a refrain. October 10, 1899 he wrote to his newphew: "I have some good news! Quite soon, perhaps, you will have a martyr in the family." In spite of the danger, he bravely remained at his post of Kucheng, and he left it only at the order of Father Mangin, his superior, to take refuge with him in the fortress of Tchou-kia-ho.

Father Remi Isoré

Remi Isoré was the oldest of a large family.[8] His classical studies he began with the help of his parish priest and he finished them at the Institute of St. Francis of Assisi at Hazebrouck. His evident goodness indicated a vocation to the apostolic life. As a matter of fact, at the age of nineteen, he sought entrance to the Major Seminary at Cambrai. After two years of study and three years of teaching he felt the call to the religious life. On November 20, 1875, fifteen days after Father Mangin, Remi Isoré entered Saint-Acheul.

"In 1881, Reverend Father Grandidier, the Provincial, stopped at Jersey on his return from China. When Father Isoré out of a desire for martyrdom asked, when still a theologian, to be sent to Zambezi, the Provincial replied: "You do not know what you are asking. Martyrdom? You will have a much better chance in China. That is the decision. You will go to China."

Nine years later, in 1890, Father Isoré mentioned the subject in a letter: "Confidentially, if I had a choice I would have chosen any mission except China. This land seemed so sterile from every point of view that merely to mention its name almost made me sick. Still, when Father Grandidier suggested China, I fell at his knees in joy. I felt it was the finger of God which was sending me to this country."

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[8] He was born at Bambecque (North) on January 22, 1852, but he spent his boyhood years at Terdeghem, near Cassel, where his father taught.

Undoubtedly Father Isoré inherited his father's teaching talent. Earlier in France he had shown what he could do. In China his apostolate was to be principal of the college of Changkiachwang. There, for nine years, he experienced the consolations which accompany success and the bitterness of failure. In 1897 his work took on new scope when he undertook parish work with the title of Rural Dean of the section of Kwangpingfu, though still doing the ordinary priestly work. The bishop would like to have seen this 40 year old man of initiative as the superior of the mission, but Providence had a still higher fate in store for him.

Father Modeste Andlauer

His companion in martyrdom, Father Modeste Andlauer,[9] did not resemble him. Father Andlauer was timid; everything about his personality was humble, even his heroism. He had a love of work well-done extending to the most insignificant details which brought no glory and which love alone could inspire. Some of the letters we still have from him reveal the simplicity of this straight-forward and ingenuous soul who was so single-minded in the performance of his apostolic works.

Having taught German in some of the French colleges, he left for China in 1881, four years after his ordination. He performed the works of the apostolate, especially at Oukiao and at Ou-i, without notable distinction. A violent death was necessary to bring this man out of the shadows—this man hidden in his work like an invisible and silent spring, without which men would die of thirst.

Part III: The Supreme Testimony

During the spring months of 1900, the Boxers of southeast Chihli were quite subdued. They came to life in June, stronger and more vicious, determined to get rid of Christianity. Even up to this point they had done considerable damage. In the northern section of the mission there was no longer one single

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[9] Father Andlauer was born at Rosheim on the lower Rhine, May 22, 1847. He studied first at the minor then at the major Seminary of Strasbourg. On the eve of his priesthood, he decided to become a religious and entered Saint-Acheul, October 8, 1872.

Christian group which had been untouched. The baptized had either fled or were killed. Their homes and churches were burned. The Boxers were encamped around the central residence near Sienhsien, as well as around five other fortified mission-stations, final refuges of the priests and Catholics making their last stand.

For the priests, the last twelve or fifteen months seemed almost unending. Isolated, cut off from outside news, they not only overcame their own suffering, but they calmed the Christians who lived with them, whom they fed and supported, and stimulated to fervor. In his concern about the physical and mental strain, the Reverend Father Superior of the Mission had sent Fathers Isoré and Li to Sienhsien for a rest. They arrived there June 16.

Their arrival coincided with a renewal of the persecution which was spreading in the southern part of the vicariate. The marauders were coming directly toward the section of which Father Isoré was in charge. It was quite obvious that within a few days the assassins would be swarming the roads thus rendering impossible the return of the priests to their districts. Father Isoré knew this and had volunteered to set out again immediately for Chaokiachwang, the center of his section. Meanwhile, the superior of the residence, Reverend Father Seneschal, waited until the following day to communicate to Father Isoré as well as to Father Li his desire that they return to their posts. Both obeyed.

Though they should have travelled together, only one cart could be found so Father Isoré left alone on June 18, at one o'clock in the morning. He had chosen a road a bit more dangerous but shorter, one which would enable him to pass by Ou-i, the little hamlet which was Father Andlauer's parish. He made the trip without incident. At about nine o'clock he knocked on the door of the mission.

"He had barely come into the house," writes Father Seneschal, "when the Boxers from a large town nearby came to Ou-i to reclaim some Boxers who were prisoners. The Mandarin ordered the gates to be closed to stop the intrusion, but it was too late. The Boxers obtained what they were after. Father Isoré wrote me immediately through the messenger who had accompanied him, making me realize that he con-

sidered himself locked up and almost in the hands of the Boxers. The two priests spent Monday, the eighteenth, and Tuesday, the nineteenth, until five o'clock in the late afternoon, filled with an apprehension we can easily understand. The prowlers were all around the house, and from time to time, they threw bricks over the wall. Between five and six o'clock the crowd began to increase. When the Boxers learned that there were two European Fathers within, they were anxious to execute their plans.

"According to the account which seems most accurate, the gate-keeper, about five o'clock in the evening, realized that the Boxers, having come in large numbers, were going to break down the main gate. He repeated this observation to Father Andlauer who was inspecting the situation from a side gate. Father Andlauer returned into the courtyard after closing the side gate which would indeed not provide much protection. Meanwhile, the gate-keeper and the catechists judged that resistance was impossible. They climbed the nearby wall and went to take refuge with a minor official of Ya-i. The Boxers broke down the gate and rushed inside. The two priests had withdrawn to the little chapel. There, on bended knee, they awaited the arrival of their executioners. It was all over in a moment. The priests were found side by side pierced with saber blows. In the evening a coachman made inquiries of two neighboring pagans who were friends of the house. They said they saw the two Fathers in this position, and they claimed that Father Andlauer still gave some signs of life, a thing which is rather doubtful seeing that the saber blows must have been numerous. These, then, are our first two priests to be martyred."[10]

Attack at Chukiaho

On the night of June 20, a catechist brought the news of the martyrdom to Father Mangin and his companions. It was a warning. The Boxers, as a matter of fact, were then encircling their residence of Chukiaho and trying to seize it. The village and the enclosure of the mission sheltered three thousand

[10] This quotation was taken from a letter of Father Seneschal, June 21, 1900. The letter was published in *Études*, September 5, 1900 and used in part in the publication, *Chine, Madagascar* for May, 1955.

Catholics of the neighborhood whom panic had driven to the church. They were a poor and frightened people relying on their spiritual Father to defend them. First it was necessary to find room for the crowd, then to provide supplies and to prepare the whole place for a resistance movement. With the aid of Father Denn Father Mangin spent two months in these occupations.

"On the fourteenth of July," writes Father Mertens, "the situation was quite satisfactory; ramparts and ditches had been finished. There was sufficient food for a long time and a large stock of gunpowder. Almost a thousand fighters could have been lined up on the ramparts. Certainly they did not have a cannon, and their rifles and pistols, for the most part outmoded, did not exceed one hundred and fifty. But what about the Boxers? Were they any better armed? The prospects were not alien to the fighting disposition of the people. They had plenty of courage."[11]

The final test was not long in coming. At daybreak on July 15, the tom-toms resounded in Chukiaho. The assault was on. The battle, long and violent, ended in a setback for the Boxers. The following day the Boxers renewed the attack. A new battle and a new victory for the Catholics who chased the attackers right back to their main headquarters which they captured. There was a triumphant return to the village with a cannon taken from the fleeing Boxers.

Had the Boxers been left to their own resources, they would probably never have conquered Chukiaho, just as they failed to take the five other fortresses in the northern section of the mission. But on July 17, a division of the imperial army, on its way to Peking, was garrisoned at Kinghsien, four miles east of Chukiaho. The commanding general was a former organizer of the Boxer movement at Shantung. He received the leaders of the Boxers and promised them reinforcements of two thousand men with cannons. Since he was anxious to reach the capital, he entrusted to one of his subordinates, General Ch'en, the task of subduing the Christian village.

[11] We refer our readers to an article by Father Mertens, S.J., "The Siege and Martyrdom of a Small Christian Community," which appeared in *Études* for June 5, 1925. Father Mertens' article is based on first-hand documents. We give the resumé here.

Fathers Mangin and Denn, on the afternoon of July 17, were sitting at table when the presence of soldiers was announced to them. Father Mangin climbed the roof of the church to get a better picture of the situation. Two thousand rifles sparkled in the sun. Swarms of Boxers were running about, howling and brandishing sabers and spears. "It was said that when Father Mangin had come down from his inspection, he was thoroughly depressed. From that time on Father Mangin refrained from giving any order, any military directive in order to confine himself to his priestly work which was soon going to become overwhelming."[12]

But the Catholics maintained their optimistic spirit. All afternoon they repulsed the soldiers and the Boxers. The fort continued to hold out in the evening, but some of the defenders fled during the night. A means of escape was offered to the two priests, but they refused to be separated from their faithful.

There followed two days of heroism. The Christians expected no quarter, and they intended to sell their lives at a high cost. The attack began with renewed vigor. On the eighteenth, the soldiers made use of their cannons, but their aim was so poor that the shells went right over the top of the enclosure and landed in the open fields; some of them fell among the Boxers. On the nineteenth, the firing, this time better directed, destroyed quite a few houses. A cannonball landed in the room of Father Denn. Another one ended up in the Church where the women and children were praying. The defenders, meanwhile, repulsed several assaults and did not yield one inch of their rampart.

The End Approaches

During the night of the nineteenth, the Boxers raised up on their farm-wagons six towers equal to the height of the rampart. At four o'clock the next morning, amid the firing of artillery and rifles, the Boxers rolled the towers, now filled with soldiers, toward the enclosure. The gunfire, coming from a greater height, scattered the Catholics. Resistance was no longer possible.

[12] *Études, loc. cit.*, p. 556.

At seven o'clock, after a final volley, the last of the defenders left the rampart and rallied to the center of the village to destroy their rifles. At that very minute, the Sisters, disguised as men, shouting and armed with paring-knives and kitchen-knives, rushed towards the Boxers who killed them one after another. Such was the strategem chosen by these consecrated women to preserve their purity.

On the morning of July 20 the two priests, after an exhausting night on the rampart and in the Church, were at the end of their strength. Harassed by incessant scurrying about, they were crushed by emotion and tormented by thirst. They had taken but a few moments of sleep in their tiny sacristy. At daybreak they led morning prayers for the crowd which filled the Church. They heard some confessions; but there was no Mass or Communion. Everyone knew that the fort would have to give up soon. In a few minutes—death . . . deliverance.

"They prepared for the end: the two priests wished to die facing their Chinese flock; and the Chinese Catholics had the same desire. The Catechists brought two arm-chairs which they decorated with little cushions. They arranged the chairs on the top step of the altar and asked the missionaries to sit down side by side facing the people, Father Denn on the gospel side, Father Mangin on the epistle side. Then all the catechists, and they were numerous since they had come here from every section, grouped themselves around the missionaries. Kneeling down and facing the priests and the cross, they filled the sanctuary. In the body of the Church the large crowd of Christians was kneeling. Most of them were women; there were two hundred to three hundred small children—in all, perhaps about a thousand people. They waited and prayed.

"Gun shots nearly provoked a panic. But with a sublime phrase Father Mangin restored calm: 'Remain where you are! In a very short while we will all be in paradise.'

"After an hour of stubborn resistance, almost all of the last defenders were disabled. There was no way to remedy the sad state. Death alone remained. The few survivors broke their rifles, filed wearily into the Church, and fell on their knees with their wives and children to prepare for martyrdom. About nine o'clock the Boxers entered the courtyard and finally reached the door of the Church which was wide open.

Stepping over the corpses, they drew near. They stared! At the far end, the altar and the small gold tabernacle, the glistening crucifix, and the bronze candlesticks! In front of these, the two European priests, their beards adding to their dignity, were quietly seated in their chairs facing the invaders. And finally, on their knees and facing the cross—the entire congregation at prayer! The barbarians were momentarily stunned and surprised—a brief reaction. Then, when it had dawned on them that all resistance was at last ended, they let out a cry of rage and began to fire into the crowd. The victims fell and their death agony began. Then a second panic took place—a dreadful one. Among the youth, the young women, the old women, the instinct of self-preservation awakened. After having accepted death, they no longer wanted to die. They wanted to flee when all flight was impossible. Only the power of God could restore their calm and enable them to die with honor. Father Denn then stood up. In a powerful voice that rose above the tumult, he intoned the *Confiteor* in Chinese. A marvellous thing, indeed! Following his lead, the Catechists, the fighters of a short time back, even the women and the children—all the Catholics as one—with a full voice and a full heart took up the sublime prayer.

After the *Confiteor,* and amid the confusion and the rattle of guns, Father Mangin stood up and once again imparted general absolution. The Church was already filled with smoke. The invaders, no longer able to take aim, shot and slew at random—a fact which perhaps explains why the missionaries had been left till almost the end. Moreover, the wife of the overseer, Tchou, separated from Father Mangin by the communion rail, stood up to ward off the shots from him. Shortly before ten o'clock a bullet killed her at the communion rail.

"Father Mangin, without this protection, was soon hit. He fell face forward from his chair onto the sanctuary floor. Immediately the Catechists picked him up. At his own request they helped him to kneel down, or rather to prostrate himself on the altar steps facing the cross. A few moments later Father Denn was wounded and fell to the ground. He got up under his own power and went to kneel alongside his superior. It was there, before the altar where they had so often offered the blood of Christ, that these two religious, prostrate, shed-

ding their own blood, awaited the hour determined by Providence to consummate their holocaust. They were to die by fire.

"About eleven o'clock, the reed matting, of which the ceiling was made, burst into flames. Soon the Church was filled with a heavy smoke that was causing the survivors to suffocate. The men preferred death by the saber to death by slow asphyxiation. Knowing quite well what was going to happen, they broke the windows in the small sacristy and, one by one, they jumped out.

"In the courtyard, the fanatics were waiting. For each new arrival, a blow of the saber. This sad exit through the window of death lasted a long time. About eleven o'clock, the Boxers, worn out by their butchery, spared the last ones to come through the window. These fifty or so they killed that afternoon outside the village. . . ." Chukiaho had become "the village of death wherein dwelled one thousand eight hundred corpses."[13]

Conclusion

Fifty years after the Boxer persecution, Satan is recruiting a new group of followers and once again he is trying to exterminate the Church in China. Communism has hoisted the red flag of the Boxers. The Devil has refined the tactics, modernized his weapons. But a glance at the polished paraphernalia suffices to recognize the same old tactics of the Devil's arsenal: lies, terror, slaughter.

Against this array of hate, unsurpassed in magnitude, the Pope sets up the witness of love provided by the fifty-six blessed. This gesture of the Holy Father has mobilized an invincible power which is the support of Christianity. The beatified martyrs of the Boxer rebellion are a reminder to the Chinese Catholics now suffering persecution that death for Christ is victory. They tell the Chinese Catholics: "Have patience. The grace which strengthened us is promised to you. In a very short while you will all be in paradise." They say to the persecutors: "In the areas decimated by our murderers, the number of Catholics has become five times greater, only twenty-five years after our death. Grace has made of our

[13] *Études, loc. cit.*, pp. 560 ff.

blood a seed, just as it made a seed of the blood of millions of martyrs before us. Today we are an example of the work of grace. Tomorrow your victims will be elevated to the honors of the altar. And the Church, indestructible, will advance with a new vitality which you unwittingly will have given to her."

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Simplified Bibliography

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Hugh M. Duce, S.J.

In the presence of death Jesuits are not generally demonstrative. They have the certainty that for the departed, "Life is changed, not taken away." And for those who have loyally and devotedly consecrated their lives to God, this transformation is rather a cause of joy than of sorrow. Though firm in their faith that another valiant soldier in the militia of Christ had gone to share in the spoils of victory with the triumphant King, there was throughout the entire Province of California a spontaneous manifestation of deep sorrow and a sense of loss in the untimely death on November 9, 1962 of the Very Reverend John F. Connolly, Provincial of the Province. Some four hundred priests, scholastics and brothers assembled in St. Ignatius Church in San Francisco on the morning of November 12, 1962 to chant the office of the dead and to assist at the Solemn Requiem Mass presided over by the Most Reverend James J. Sweeney, Bishop of Honolulu. The thought that moved them all to lay aside their day's occupations was that in the passing of Father Connolly they had lost "a rare friend, brother, father and beloved superior." The same filial attachment was manifested on the following Saturday when, for the consolation of his friends and relatives in Southern California, another Solemn Requiem Mass was sung in the Sacred Heart Chapel of Loyola University. All the Jesuits who could do so, from as far north as Santa Barbara and as far south as San Diego, assisted in the body of the Church. Most Reverend Timothy Manning, Auxiliary Bishop of Los Angeles, returned only the day before from attendance at the General Council, presided and gave the last absolution.

Such a universal outpouring of respect was all the more remarkable, as Father Connolly had only held the office of Provincial for a little over two years and had spent twenty-

four of the twenty-nine years of his active life in the southern end of the Province and consequently had been little known in the more thickly Jesuit populated part of the state. Yet in those two short years he had won the confidence, respect and esteem of old and young alike. By the force of his strong, manly personality, he had instilled a new spirit into the Province, a spirit of confidence and of courage, a desire to emulate the better things, to improve and develop all the works of the Province.

The life of Father Connolly can be briefly told. He was born in Redondo Beach on January 21, 1899, the second son, fourth child, of Patrick and Nora Connolly, both natives of Ireland. He received his elementary education in the Redondo Beach City Schools, and his secondary education at Loyola High School, which had been founded only two years previous to his enrollment when the Society took over the work previously conducted in Los Angeles by the Vincentian Fathers.

He entered the Sacred Heart novitiate at Los Gatos on October 3, 1917, the year he graduated from high school. Then followed the usual routine training: philosophy at Mt. St. Michael's, Spokane, 1921-1924; regency at Gonzaga High School in Spokane where he taught Latin and was assistant prefect under the redoubtable Father James Kennelly, September 1924 to February 1927, when he was moved to the then Loyola College on Venice Boulevard where he taught philosophy, English and speech and developed a life-long attachment to Father Joseph Sullivan, the Rector and builder of Loyola University at its present site. In 1928 he was sent to Weston College for theology along with such notables of the California Province as Fathers Austin Fagothey, John Ferguson, and William Rice. It was at Weston that he came to esteem the New England Province and to admire the way it had preserved the ideals of the Ratio both at Holy Cross and Boston College, an ideal that he kept alive during his long years of academic administration. He was ordained with his class on June 16, 1931 by the Most Reverend Thomas Emmett, S.J., D.D., Bishop of Jamaica.

On the completion of theology he was appointed Dean of Faculties at Loyola University, a position he held until 1934 when he made his tertianship at Manresa Hall, Port Town-

send, under his former and much loved Novice Master, Father Joseph Piet, who had fashioned the rough diamond of a tough, fiery, proud adolescent into an uncompromising champion of Christ the King and a completely dedicated son of the Society.

At the end of tertianship he was appointed to teach theology at the recently opened theologate of the California Province at Alma. Here he pronounced the vows of the solemnly professed on February 2, 1936. At the end of the year he was called back to Loyola University to assume his former position as Dean of Faculties. In a reorganization of the government of the University in 1949 the office of Dean of Faculties was abolished and the office of Academic Vice President substituted. This meant for him the relinquishing of the office of Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, a position he cherished above all his other supervisory duties. In 1953 he was appointed superior of the Retreat House at Azusa. In 1958 he became Rector of the Novitiate and in 1960 Provincial of the Province.

To Loyola University, therefore, Father Connolly devoted nineteen of the best years of his life. And Loyola, its students, its development and its welfare received the complete dedication of his whole being, his deep spirituality, the keenness of his many intellectual gifts, and his apparently inexhaustible physcial stamina. He served under five Rectors, all of them different from one another in temperament and character. Yet each one of them received his complete loyalty and esteem. This does not mean that he could not, as the occasion demanded, disagree with them on a matter of policy and argue his point vigorously, as only he could; but once the decision was made, the question was closed. There was no murmuring, no half-hearted compliance.

His administration exemplified those two characteristics of all good government, to rule *fortiter et suaviter*. He could not tolerate anything that derogated from the orderly running of the University. Professors who came late for class, dismissed their classes before the end of the period, were remiss in handing in their grades at the time prescribed, were called on the carpet and told in no uncertain terms to amend their ways. But once the fault was amended, that was the end of it. Bygones were forgotten and the offender was restored to the

place of honor and respect he held for all his fellow workers and particularly for the instructional staff. Having once experienced his just anger, the offender was not liable to again awaken the quiescent volcano. There was one thing in academic administration that he never quite became reconciled to. Having started his career at a time when the ordinary practice was to teach at last fifteen hours a week, he was not at all sympathetic with the pressure exerted by accrediting associations to reduce the normal load to twelve and even nine hours. The apostolate of education was his life. To it he devoted all his waking hours and could not understand why others did not have the same realization of its vital importance and willingness to consecrate to it unselfishly all their energies.

If he was strict with his instructional staff, he was even more so with his students. He did not accept the doctrine that the Catholic college's only responsibility was to train the intellect. Loyola's objectives as embodied in the statement, *The Loyola Man,* Citizen of Two Worlds, meant more to him than a few well turned phrases adorning the pages of the annual catalogue. It was something to be realized in each individual student. Breaches of discipline, lack of respect for instructors, failure to live up to one's academic promise or to attend the religious exercises of the University, all called for a never-to-be-forgotten interview with the Dean. From these interviews there arose among the students their own title for the Dean—Black John. Little did they know what it cost the great Irish heart of "Black John" to apply the cauterizing iron necessary to mold an irresponsible adolescent into a mature, responsible, Catholic gentleman. The alumni who graduated during his administration are witness to the success of his endeavors. Perhaps the most loyal to his memory are those whom he treated with the greatest severity.

His tenure of office witnessed many and great changes in the University. When he took office the University was a struggling institution in the throes of the great depression. A classroom building, a faculty building which served as a residence hall for a handful of boarders, and a red brick shower and dressing room, the first unit of a future gymnasium, were all the buildings which graced a hundred-acre

campus. The hundred acres stood in lonely grandeur amidst an abandoned real estate development which had gone bankrupt in the early years of the depression. There was hardly a house in sight for miles around. The student body numbered just under three hundred hardy souls who braved the unpaved roads and the lack of adequate facilities for the sake of Catholic higher education. The curriculum of the Liberal Arts College boasted only one major—that of Philosophy. The students of the College of Business Administration were obliged to follow the same course of philosophy, so they devoted what time was left over to such subjects as accounting and general business. It was a challenge to a young man fresh from studies, filled with energy and a lofty ambition, to make his school the equal of the best Jesuit schools in the country. He never wavered; never became discouraged. Loyola was his first love. To it he would give his undying love and devotion.

As the years unfolded, his dreams of a greater and better Loyola began to materialize. The once abandoned real estate subdivision developed into a flourishing suburb. The University was no longer isolated from the mainspring of the city's life. As the depression waned the material position of the University improved greatly under a series of energetic and gifted Presidents. Two dormitories, a chapel, an engineering building were erected, temporary classroom facilities added, and the gymnasium completed. The campus was beautifully landscaped, roads and parking lots were installed. To all these improvements Fr. Connolly lent his encouragement, enthusiasm and unfailing advice. All that concerned the University was of vital importance to him.

When, after nineteen years of service, Father Connolly was removed from the office of Academic Vice President, the student body had already risen to a peak of two thousand and eighty-nine. This growth demanded many administrative adjustments. There was the ever pressing need of recruiting a competent faculty. The laymen on the faculty numbered a scanty five in 1932. By 1953 the number had risen to sixty-five. With the war years and their consequent emptying of the school the lay faculty was again reduced to the barest minimum. This entailed the bringing back of as many of the former faculty members as possible and the hiring of a new

staff to provide for the influx of G.I.'s. Ten majors were added to the offerings of the Liberal Arts College. These were not simply accretions, "to keep up with the Joneses." They were introduced after careful study and planning. The University Catalogue carried a statement before the description of each major of its purpose, underlying philosophy and the objective it aimed at attaining within the framework of a Jesuit education. The Jesuit ideal was the touchstone by which every innovation was gauged.

To insure the orderly running of the University, Statutes had to be drawn up clearly defining the privileges and responsibilities of the staff and officials of the University. Admission policies had to be clarified and made more stringent. During Father Connolly's tenure of office the Regional Accreditation Association became very active, particularly after the Association of American Universities, to which most of the colleges in California belonged, discontinued its policy of approving undergraduate colleges. To meet the standards of the Western College Association meant an exhaustive institutional self-study, a justification of procedures, policies and objectives which might not be understood by secular accrediting teams. The report that he submitted to the Association was praised by the examiners and served as a model for other Catholic colleges applying for accreditation.

During the lull of the war years, when the registration dropped to sixty-five, Father Connolly was active as an Arbitrator for the National War Labor Board. From April 13, 1943 to July 17, 1944 he chaired the lengthy contract negotiations between seventeen corporations and their respective unions. Among these corporations were many vital to the war effort, such as the Aluminum Company of America, Douglas Aircraft, General Petroleum, Richfield Oil, and General Metals Corporation. From December 4, 1944 to August 29, 1944 he acted as arbitrator of disputes between the United Automobile Workers CIO and North American Aviation, Inc. Disputes ranged from accusations of racial discrimination and insubordination to smoking in the washroom and theft of company property. Twenty-nine cases were reported on. His briefs show that somehow or other he had gained a fine grasp both of labor law and the provisions of the various labor contracts

involved. The briefs are clear, concise and logical. A fair, unprejudiced statement is made of the differences of the contending parties and a just decision handed down based on the evidence presented by both sides. As a result, he gained the confidence and friendship both of labor and management. Among his best friends in labor was the tough old seaman, Harry Lundeberg, President of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the mortal foe of Harry Bridges. When Lundeberg dedicated his new Union Hall in San Francisco no one but Father Connolly could give the Invocation: a privilege that was denied him, so the building was dedicated without an invocation.

In all these activities Father Connolly manifested a great capacity for leadership, which developed and matured with the years. That capacity emanated primarily from the keenness of his God-given intellect, the warmth of his personality and his abiding sense of humor. He did not rule by ukase. He enjoyed making plans and then discussing their pros and cons with all comers. If the discussion revealed that the plans were impractical or deficient in any way, they were either discarded or revised to meet the objections. He had the priceless quality of making his subordinates feel needed. They were not simply cogs in the wheels of administration that could be discarded at will. Whatever their position in the academic hierarchy they were co-workers in all that concerned the welfare of the University. He led also by example. When the University was too poor to hire an adequate group of maintenance men, he was the first to tackle onerous and even menial tasks, and out of loyalty to him, students and staff members would follow suit.

Having been so long at Loyola and having been so closely identified with its progress, its faculty, students and alumni, it was a sad day for Father John when the status of 1953 assigned him to Manresa Retreat House as its superior. But he wasted no time in idle regrets. He accepted his assignment with true Ignatian obedience and threw himself into the manifold duties of his entirely new environment. He was eminently prepared for the office by his proven administrative ability, his knowledge of men and his wide experience in the ministry. He was soon as enthusiastic for the apostolate of lay retreats

as he had been for the apostolate of education. During the five years of his tenure of office the beautiful chapel of the Holy Spirit, planned by his predecessor, Father Edward J. Whelan, was built. To accommodate the growing number of retreatants forty additional, well equipped private rooms were added to the facilities of the Retreat House. The Archdiocese of Los Angeles was already in possession of three other well established retreat houses, two for men and one for married couples. It therefore required a great deal of work and organization to attract a sufficient clientele to make Manresa a self-supporting enterprise. Of great assistance to him in this undertaking was his knowledge of and acceptance by the Loyola alumni. By the end of his term of office, the Retreat House was not only paying its own way, but had accumulated a surplus of capital with which he was planning to build better kitchen and dining facilities for the retreatants.

Everyone suspected that Father Connolly was being seriously considered for the office of Provincial when he was appointed Rector of the Sacred Heart Novitiate on August 15, 1958. Here he soon endeared himself to the Juniors, the principal objects of his solicitude during his two years' stay at Los Gatos. Having learned by experience the need of well trained men for the ministries of the Society, he took a vital interest in their studies. But most of all he endeavored to inculcate in them something of his own great love for the Society. During his novitiate and juniorate days it had been the custom to sing the Society's anthem at the end of each festive occasion. He reintroduced the custom, and as was his wont at all events that lent themselves to song, led the singing with his own powerful voice. He was a welcome spectator at the Juniorate games, introducing them to the fine points of baseball, a game in which he prided himself on his own prowess. He was their constant companion on the Juniors' villa days, regaling them with vivid recollections of his days as a regent, dean and retreat master.

On the plane of temporal administration, Father Connolly was engaged during most of his two years at Los Gatos in delicate negotiations with the Regents of the University of California. The committee appointed by Governor Brown to study the needs of higher education in the State of California

had come up with the recommendation that two more branches of the University of California be established, one of them in Santa Clara County. Interested parties in San Jose, the fifth largest city in the state, were most anxious that the branch be established in the suburbs of their city. The most desirable piece of property inspected was a portion of the Guadalupe ranch, which supplies the best grapes for the Novitiate winery. As San Jose expanded, this property had risen considerably in value. To refuse to sell it at the University's asking price would have led to condemnation proceedings. This would have meant in turn not only the loss of a fair price, but the necessity of purchasing equivalent acreage in the San Joaquin Valley, a great distance from the Novitiate, and the development of an entirely new vineyard. Besides all this, the establishment of a branch of the University of California in San Jose, would have been detrimental to the University of Santa Clara, located not ten miles away. The day was finally saved when a group of citizens in Santa Cruz offered the Regents of the University of California the gift of an extensive and suitable site near their own city.

On the thirty-first of July 1960, Father Connolly became Provincial of the Province. He was sixty-one years old and apparently in the best of health. He worked at his new position with the same intensity and devotedness that he had brought to each of his assignments. The first indication of anything wrong came when he underwent a series of tests at St. Mary's Hospital for a persistent cough, September 11-17, 1962. He was scheduled to go to Rome on September 20 for the customary conference with Father General. His physician saw no reason as a result of the tests why he should not undertake the journey. In fact, he thought the trip might be beneficial to his patient. Characteristically, Father planned his trip so that he might have the privilege of saying Mass at Manresa, so precious for the spiritual formation of St. Ignatius and the elaboration of the Spiritual Exercises. He arrived wearied from his journey and with his cough more painful and persistent than ever. Nevertheless, he spent a very busy time of it in the Eternal City. There were long and satisfying visits with Father Assistant, Father Vicar and with Reverend Father General. There was the consolation of seeing Pope

John and of receiving his blessing. The five Californians studying at the Gregorian had to be interviewed and brought up to date on the latest news of the Province. Papal blessings had to be thoughtfully obtained for cherished friends back home. It was a busy time and the Roman climate further debilitated his strength.

On his return he had planned to spend five days in the "Ole Sod" for which his nephew had fought in the Republican Army, and in making the acquaintance of the Connolly clan who had remained in Ireland. However, his condition had become so aggravated that he was forced to reduce his stay to one day. He returned to San Francisco on October 13 and applied himself to the business that had accumulated during his absence. Nine days later he started the visitation of St. Ignatius High School. On October 30 he held his last Provincial Consultation.

More tests at St. Mary's Hospital definitely revealed the presence of lung cancer and the necessity of an operation. He entered the hospital on November 6, after bidding farewell to each member of the Provincial Curia and asking their prayers. The operation for the removal of his right lung took place the next morning and lasted from 7:45 a.m. until 6:15 p.m. During the progress of the operation the greatest possible complications developed. The pulmonary artery, which had been tied off, broke its fastenings and a massive hemorrhage occurred, during which most of Father's blood supply poured out. This brought on a stoppage of the heart, which was quickly remedied. Father Socius Andrew Maginnis, who was standing by, was brought into the operating room and administered the last rites. In the meantime everything possible was being done to remedy the grave situation. A transfusion of six pints of blood was made. Adrenalin was injected into the heart and a corps of surgeons and physicians were invited in to assist. Before the end of the operation a tracheotomy was performed so that oxygen could be fed directly into the remaining lung.

Next morning Father Connolly's condition was surprisingly good considering all he had gone through. Though he could not speak, owing to the tracheotomy, he was conscious and able to follow the directions of doctors and nurses. To the

great consolation of his brother and sister, who had flown up from Los Angeles, he was able to recognize them when they were allowed to visit him briefly on Thursday. That night his condition worsened and all efforts of the doctors to assist him failed. The end came peacefully and quietly at 1:45 Friday morning, November 9, 1962.

An examination of his papers afterwards showed that, true to form, Father Connolly had left everything in perfect order, evidently expecting the worst. Minute directions had been left regarding who was to act in case he should recover but be incapacitated; and in case of his death, who was to act until a successor was appointed. Briefs of the directions received and decisions made in Rome had been drawn up for the information and guidance of those whom they might concern. His correspondence had been taken care of up to the time he was admitted to the hospital. Truly he could say in the words of the text Father Zacheus Maher used as the keynote of the eulogy he preached at his funeral, "I have finished the work Thou gavest me to do." God rest his noble and generous soul.

Brother Maurice Francis Burke, S.J.

Francis J. Tierney, S.J.

The preliminary information sent along with the request for an obituary article on Brother Maurice F. Burke, S.J. was most jejune. "C. Burke, Mauritius Franciscus," it read, and the brown slip of *Verifax* paper went on to state that the father of Brother Burke was named James, that his mother who died so young was called Helen Lyons Burke. Before entering the Society Brother lived at 488 Grove Street in St. Michael's Parish in Jersey City, a site close enough to St. Peter's Church and Preparatory School. Maurice was born on January 17, 1897 in New York City and, despite the harsh season, was baptized ten days later in St. Veronica's Church there. Maurice Francis Burke began his noviceship as a Coadjutor Brother at St. Andrew-on-Hudson on July 28, 1927, and he pronounced his vows of perpetual poverty, chastity and obedience on the feast of St. Ignatius two years later. He made his last vows on the 15th of August, 1937, at St. Peter's College on Grand Street. His assignments as a Jesuit Brother were those of custodian of the wine-cellar and *ad dom.* at St. Andrew from 1929 to 1930, and buyer there throughout the following year. From 1931 until 1944 he worked at St. Peter's College as buyer and supervisor of employees, and from 1944 until his death he performed the same tasks at St. Peter's Preparatory School. At the time of his death Brother was also in charge of the refectory. St. Peter's College might move off to its new location on the hill in 1944 and set up its new Community, but Brother had stayed behind at the parish and high school. Brother was an excellent religious, as we know from other sources, and no superior would ever want to let such a man go. He was in fact even known as "Brother St. Peter's." He was a Grand Street

institution long before 1944, and it was fitting that he stay on at Jersey City's own old St. Peter's until his death. Brother Maurice F. Burke, S.J. died of cancer at Holy Name Hospital, Teaneck, N. J., and he was buried in the precious little cemetery at St. Andrew, corporal resting place of so many of God's chosen priests and brothers and scholastics. Apart from this, the only other fact the basic record lists is that before his entrance into the Society Brother did "office work, filing, etc." Thus simply is the selflessly generous life of a rich, thoughtful, hidden soul portrayed in the brief categories of records, largely because he gave out about himself only the sparsest of information.

Brother Burke was a selfless man, a courteous man, a steady man, a versatile man, a holy man, a man of whom very many fine adjectives can rightly be used. Father Joseph S. Dinneen, S.J., Brother's Father Minister at St. Andrew and his rector from 1931 to 1937 jots down these lines about him:

> Innate gentility and Christian courtesy are something far above mere worldly politeness. In Brother's dealings with priests and scholastics and other brothers, with the Sisters of Charity in the Parochial School, with the men and women and children of the parish, with the tradesmen, workmen and others with whom he came in contact, Brother Burke brought with him "the good odor of Christ"; he worthily represented the Society; he was a great credit to the mother who bore him and his sister Ann who idolized him.

Other letters were sought for and received and people were interviewed. It was still, however, Ann Burke, Brother's only close relative, who three and a half years after Brother's death, from her recollections and from the letters and articles she had saved, first began to surround the bare statistics of Brother's life with the flesh of living detail.

Early Recollections

Even Ann knows little about Brother's early days. Their mother died of a heart attack at the age of twenty-three, when Ann was three years old and Maurice only about eight months. Sister and brother, each went to a different maternal aunt to live, Maurice being taken in by a family named O'Keefe that later moved to St. Michael's Parish in Jersey City. Each side of the Burke family was religious and the members were well

able to rear and inspire two such youngsters. The O'Keefes are remembered by their pastor as excellent people; and on the paternal side two of the aunts were nuns, one a Sister of Charity and the other a Dominican. Maurice attended St. Anthony's School in New York and later did clerical work in business, as the record states, but he also acted as chauffeur with his firm, Claffin & Co. of New York. He served in the Army for about a year, entering on duty in 1919 and never leaving the States.

Maurice Burke was a kind man long before he entered religion. As a young layman he would buy turkeys before Thanksgiving or Christmas at Manhattan's Washington Market, build up complete food baskets around them and take them to the poor, all on his own initiative. For about six years before he entered, he helped to educate the six children of his cousin, the daughter of the aunt with whom he stayed. In his younger days Brother belonged to a boxing club and he always loved boxing, but Ann has little to tell about this aspect of Brother's life because, in the manner of women, she disapproved of this activity. For this reason Maurice, in the manner of men, told her little about it. Monsignor Leroy McWilliams was his pastor in Jersey City, and his confessor and friend. Monsignor is a kind, approachable priest with a phenomenal memory for the parishioners of his forty years at St. Michael's. He recalls the young Maurice Burke as a daily Communicant, active in the Knights of Columbus, a stable, dependable, serious young man.

In all, Maurice Burke when he entered the Society in 1927 was a fine Catholic man of thirty, generous, strong, active, religious, and ready to accept and follow completely the great gift of the call to perfection, the call to the religious life in the unique and perfect vocation of the Brothers. He brought all his generosity and holiness with him and he made all his qualities more spiritual still in the complete dedication of his life to the service of God.

Happiness in Charity

He was happy to be a Brother. He knew that the *manner* of his service did not matter provided only that he found and did God's will in his own regard, and that his life was made over

into an act of constant praise. God had given him the difficult and perfect vocation to the Brother's way of life within the Jesuit family, and he would work like St. Joseph to take care of that family. He was a most generous man in the manner of Joseph in following his vocation, laboring for twenty-six years at St. Peter's as buyer and also acting as superintendent of the buildings on Grand Street and at the reborn college on the hill, as chauffeur, relief operator at the switchboard, helping out in the refectory and Church, in the parish, parochial school, preparatory school and college. Brother Michael Walsh, S.J., his co-worker at St. Peter's, proudly said of him that "he is the greatest man I have ever known." Truly there was nothing good that Brother Burke left undone. His life is an ideal of most generous service for the love of Christ his Lord.

Within the Society Brother was always a charitable man. He loved all people and was kind to them, treating all with respect and consideration and utter patience. He called the priestly members of his Jesuit family "his priests," and he could never do too much for them. He was the friend and inspiration of the scholastics and the brothers. Outside the Community he took care of the needy in every way that his office permitted. He was not only respected by the workers in the buildings, he was loved. One of the Brothers writes that he was most kind in helping students at St. Peter's find part-time jobs in order to help them with their tuition. Two of the Fathers write of a man in the parish, "a dear friend of Brother Burke." This man, who worked for Brother, could not hold onto money, and Brother alone knew how to handle him. Brother gave him $3.00 a week for spending money after his expenses had been paid; the rest Brother put into bonds for him. As soon as he was given the $3.00 the man would take off for the saloons on York Street where he could do little damage to himself on so small a purse. When he was finally taken sick, the thousands of dollars that Brother had saved for him were put to use and the man well taken care of until his death. The St. Peter's priest who gave him Communion the day before he died says of this man that he was an "idolizer" of Brother Burke.

Brother's charity ranged far beyond the bounds of Jersey City. Ann Burke, in her own way, continued one of Brother's charities in Italy. Because of this, one instance of Brother's kindness is made known through seven letters from Guiseppe Cardinal Pizzardo to Miss Burke, as well as through the reprint of another letter to Father John Morris, S.J., Rector of St. Peter's, in the St. Peter's Prep paper, and from a telegram sent by the Cardinal to Brother on December 27, 1956, after he had been taken to the hospital. How many more letters Brother himself might have saved for us, nobody can know. The story behind the letters and the telegram is that Brother had made contact with the poor of the Diocese of Albano and with Cardinal Pizzardo, its Bishop, through Mario Violini, an old seaman. Along with Brother Walsh, Brother Burke gathered enough old clothing in the parish to fill St. Peter's station wagon six or seven times a year for some twelve years, and he sent it off to the people of Albano. Cardinal Pizzardo is a very busy man. He is Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities and a member of many Congregations and Commissions. We can appreciate his great esteem for Brother Burke's charity, then, through the number of letters and the telegram listed above. In them, among other things, the Cardinal calls Brother "benefactor of my diocese of Albano and of the Pontifical Regional Seminaries." He writes of "the poor of my diocese of Albano . . . who owe so much to Brother Maurice's indefatigable charity." From these as well as from many other letters about him, one can see that Brother did indeed leave "the good odor of Christ" around him and that the melody that he placed in the hearts of the people he dealt with sings out once again in their happy thoughts concerning him.

It is striking how often prosaic trucks and autos enter into the examples of Brother's holiness and constant charity. Despite all his other activities and his readiness to help out everywhere else, he was also always ready to act as chauffeur for all Jesuits in need. During World War II he was often truck-driver, appearing at nearby Jesuit Houses to share some scarce commodity there. While he was still at St. Andrew he drove the laundry truck from Poughkeepsie to the Convent of the Good Shepherd in Albany each week, always making the

task an opportunity for kindness. Brother John Doyle, S.J., who entered the novitiate a week after Brother Burke, writes from the Philippines to tell that Brother always stopped in the nearest church on these trips to make his examination of conscience. On one occasion he asked a young Brother from New York's "Northern Frontier" to come along with him but at St. Andrew's gate Brother quietly turned right instead of left and drove in the direction of the great city of New York. He was on his way to Fordham that day to pick up books, and he set out with his young companion, intent on surprising him with a first, unexpected view of the great metropolis. Brother liked to do pleasant things for people! His companion of that day's ride writes that Brother Burke "often recalled my looks of wonderment at my first sight of New York City and I think he was more pleased at my reaction than I was with the trip."

Father Joseph S. Dinneen, S.J., who was Brother's rector for six hard Depression years, actually sums up a great part of Brother's holiness in the manner in which he drove a car. In this particular letter Father has already told of Brother's great willingness to pitch in at all kinds of work. Father then goes on to add that Brother always did this work in the following wonderful way:

> All this, mind you, not in fits and starts, but steadily through the years. Just as he drove a car: no mad dashes only to have to jam on the brakes and come to a screaming halt, but calmly, steadily. That proves moral courage, the perseverance of the blessed, poise, centrality of character and seriousness of purpose. It revealed his patience when things were more trying than usual, as well as his self-conquest and self-control. You may know that as a young man before entering the Society he was a member of the same boxing club to which Gene Tunney belonged. Yet, such was Brother's self-mastery that never, under any provocation, have I known him to threaten to resort to "muscular Christianity." That's meekness of no mean order.

This same steady serenity in Brother Burke causes another of his rectors to write that "he had enormous patience: I can remember in my more than six years of association with him, his being slightly disturbed by only one incident."

"The Best Jesuit I Ever Knew"

Only one of the rectors in Brother's life has died. All of the others say edifying things about him, as do others also who were close to him. Extracts from the comments of his rectors read in the following forthright way. One Father writes: "Many a time I have made the flat statement: 'Brother Burke is the best Jesuit I know.' I mean it too. . . . He was my right arm." Another Father, writing to his successor to accept the invitation to come down for Brother's twenty-fifth anniversary at St. Peter's, states: "He is one of the truly great Jesuits I have met, incomparable in his service, extraordinary in his sense of duty and cooperation, with a disposition that is saintly." Later, after Brother's death, this same Father writes: "I have said a hundred times to Jesuits that I have met a dozen extraordinary Jesuits in my life, and your brother was one of them, a truly great follower of St. Ignatius in every respect."

Another former rector writes that "I think of Brother often and his solid spiritual influence on me and all at St. Peter's." And another: "His outstanding virtue was his willingness to do anything for anybody, anytime." Still another sums up Brother by writing: "To me he exemplified the '*magis*' of St. Ignatius in the Spiritual Exercises. What is there that I have not done that I could do for my King and the spread of His Kingdom? No time-serving, no clock-watching, no clamor for fringe benefits, no comparison with others, whether they appeared to be doing less or more. It is a characteristic of our Saints, canonized and uncanonized."

Brother was a fine administrator, deftly taking care of the hiring of workers, of greater and lesser repairs everywhere and of major renovations of the old lower church and the parochial school, all the while supervising the Community kitchen and managing the students' cafeteria. He also watched over the weekly bingo games, and he managed to bring in hundreds of thousands of dollars for the parish and the high school. When need be, he would gladly also cook the meals, wash the pots and dishes, sweep the floors and empty out the garbage. Brother Walsh found him working at the switchboard the night before he was taken to the hospital never to

return. Still a good Joseph to his Community, despite the pains of abdominal cancer, he would try to get out of the hospital to go home and take care of his "forty Jesuits."

A Brother, Brother Burke's co-worker, says of him, understandably enough, that he "was the first one up at St. Peter's every morning and the last to go to bed at night."

A Holy Influence

Was Brother holy? All the above mentioned traits indicate that he was. Over and above all the qualities mentioned, however, Brother was also most exact in all his spiritual duties, trying to keep them on a normal schedule and always making them up when the schedule had to be changed. He made many visits to the Blessed Sacrament each day, and he closed off each day by going over to the darkened St. Peter's Church and saying his rosary there, alone at last with God and Our Lady. He was obedient. He was humble, not complaining at all when one or two misunderstood the inevitable results of all his able service and found fault with the fact that he had "too much power." He kept nothing superfluous for his own use and he asked express leave for the items he acquired. He never visited lay-people in their homes, not even relatives unless some very urgent reason of charity required him to do so, and, with the exception of his sister, his only immediate relative, he entertained no visitors. One of the priests of St. Peter's puts the obvious conclusion to all this, that this impressive and happy Brother "was looked on as a saint by the people." Indeed the Parish Bulletin, on the occasion of his twenty-fifth anniversary at St. Peter's in 1956, with all proper respect for the rules of Holy Church, changes Brother's nickname from "Brother St. Peter's" to "St. Alphonsus '56."

Everything about Brother breathed a spirituality which was, of course, appreciated. A report on the St. Peter's altar boys printed in the *Advocate*, the Newark Archdiocesan paper, mentioned in passing that Brother Burke had been taken ill. As a result, a man in a far-off portion of the Archdiocese sat down to type a letter to Brother on December 28, 1956. This thoughtful man tells Brother that he is sure that Brother does not know or remember him. He goes on to offer to do anything for him that he can do. He adds that "it may cheer

and comfort you a little to know that for me your years-long gentleness of bearing made real a life truly lived close to Our Lord, so that from seeing you, even though only on rare occasions and in passing, my own too often assaulted Faith received badly needed support of which you could have had no inkling but which you must in general have prayed for and lived toward."

How many other men felt the holy influence of Brother's life no man can say until eternity.

Such was Brother Maurice F. Burke, S.J., who died on June 19, 1957. On that day a group of Brothers from Shrub Oak had come down to visit him, and that evening three of the St. Peter's Fathers were with him in the hospital, as was also his devoted sister, Ann. When Brother began to fail Father Raymond I. Purcell, S.J. anointed him and Ann, whom Brother had thanked for her many deeds of kindness only ten minutes before, says that Brother turned his eyes to the Crucifix for a long, searching look, closed his eyes, and it took her some few minutes to realize that it was so peacefully that he had died.

Miss Burke, in talking about Brother as she does so happily, says that often people ask her if her brother was a priest and that she answers no, that he was a Brother. Because of the lack of understanding and of appreciation that so many people show for this sublime vocation that has given the Society four of its saints and twenty-three of its blesseds, Miss Burke goes on to say that often these people say, "Oh, only a Brother!" and that she goes on a little sadly to agree with them by saying, "Yes, only a little Jesuit Brother." And Brother Burke was indeed somewhat short in physique. It may well be, then, that Brother Burke was in stature "just a little Jesuit Brother" but, from the looks of his life, he may just be one of the greatest Jesuits of us all.

IGNATIAN SURVEY: 1962

In this age of abstracts and digests the editors of Woodstock Letters *feel that there is need for another specialized digest. We have called it the Ignatian Survey We are attempting here to highlight articles written on the bject of Ignatian spirituality in the past year. In this effort we have canvassed over one hundred periodicals.*

The hope is to present yearly a profile of the significant articles on Jesuit spirituality and the Exercises *which would not be readily available to our readers. Such articles are expected to be of use to our retreat work, preaching and in our own personal spirituality, and the section as a whole will form a supplement to articles on Ignatian spirituality regularly printed by this magazine.*

The following then is an experiment, and, as all experiments, imperfect. For this reason we are anxious for any comments and suggestions from our readers to improve such a section in the future.

Finally, we wish to take this opportunity to thank the theologians here at Woodstock for their valuable cooperation.

GERARD F. WALDORF, S.J.

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IGNATIAN SPIRITUALITY AND MODERN THEOLOGY, by C. F. Mooney, S.J.

Ignatius had a vision and a technique in his spirituality. Father Mooney shows how this permanent element of vision in its interior and exterior aspects is applicable to "the three revolutions" of modern society: the Darwinian, the Marxian and the Freudian.

Ignatian Spirituality and Modern Theology, *Downside Review*, 80 (Oct., 1962) pp. 333-354.

Modern spirituality and modern theology are drawing closer and mutually enriching one another. Various spiritualities are re-examining their origins and theological depth. Here then is a summary of the distinctive structure of Ignatian spirituality.

Christian spirituality in its wide sense is the way to holiness and hence there is only one spirituality and one Way, Christ. But in the concrete, different men and different groups adopt a specific style of approach. Each individual must live the entire gospel message but within his own limitations and his own specific graces. (Only the Church, in her many-splendored variety of holiness gives witness to the whole Christian counsel.) But spiritualities also differ because they mirror the different challenges and responses of each age and its extraordinary personalities. So penetrating is their vision that different schools of spirituality form about them, such as the Benedictine or Carmelite. Each school has a vision and a technique; the first permanent, the latter flexible to social changes. (We shall deal only with the permanent element—the vision—here.) More strictly defined then, spirituality is the form or style of a person's response to the grace of Christ in confronting his contemporary world.

Ignatius' vision, its exterior and interior aspect. Ignatius met the challenge of the Renaissance with a vision and technique. It was an age which was individualistic, emotional, in revolt against authority; an age which exulted in a cult of humanism. It was also an age whose geograpic horizons were being pushed back, and so an age of expanding missionary vision. But blocking the way was lethargy within the Church in conflict with an anxiety for reform. Ignatius responded with a vision which had an interior and exterior aspect. The interior was the emphasis on choice in the spiritual life and on discernment of spirits. Growing out of his conversion experiences it was systematized in the *Exercises*, which foster a grace-ful choice. He takes the individualistic stress of his age and makes man center himself in God's will, not in the subjectivity of personal desires. To an age of the glory of kingship he stresses Christ as king, the source of true detachment from one's own will, and union with Christ in service of the Father.

But no one was more convinced that these choices come with the grace of God and not from natural energy or self-centered asceticism. The need for humility is basic and at the heart of the *magis:* a search for the ever greater glory of God.

In the battle against the Church's external enemy Ignatius stresses that the beginning of the struggle is *within*. The real foe is spiritual and must be met within man's heart. The Crucified is witness of the destructive power of sin, a symbol of love, and a pledge of participation in the triumph of the Resurrection to the one fighting this interior battle.

Within this context of Christ's victory and discernment, Ignatian devotion to Mary finds its place. At all critical choices in the *Exercises* the exercitant, in a triple ascent, prays first to Mary. For the Divine economy works from the Father to Christ to Mary to the apostle. All spiritual growth is an imitation of her *fiat*, by which she allowed God to operate so freely in her life.

Exterior aspect of Ignatius' vision. This interior aspect (sensitivity of soul to the actions of the spirit) finds exterior expression in a loving service of the Church. In this service the apostle becomes progressively more detached from self, centered on Christ and through Him on the Trinity. Thus service becomes an exercise of prayer and contemplation. Ignatius' characteristic devotion to the Church and "contemplation in action" are linked. Against Luther's denial of the visible element in the Church, Ignatius stresses a union with Christ which can only be fostered by a closer identification with the Church. "Church militant" was not a military and polemic idea but the expression of an attitude of disciplined service.

To the objection that he deemphasized prayer Ignatius answered that both prayer and work were two aspects of the same thing: love. This love drives the apostle to seek God in all things, a type of prayer which is better than hours of formal prayer and demanding of more self-abnegation. Apostolic prayer then is not an end, as in the contemplative life, but a means disposing the apostle to God's will. This is exemplified in the examen of conscience, which is not an exercise in petty listing of faults or in introspection, but primarily a turning to Christ to examine with Him the decisions made and to be made for God's greater glory. It lets God's light shine on all the selfishness and frailty of mixed motives by which the movement of one's action toward God has been deflected into ambiguity. It is a prayer which makes us aware of God's will concerning the needs of our neighbor. This is contemplation in action, to give God's plan primacy over selfish interests and thus to possess in the midst of action an awareness of the presence of God, the essence of contemplation.

II. Contemporary Significance. The Ignatian vision in its interior and exterior aspects originated in the challenges of the sixteenth century, but it finds deeper meaning today in the light of modern theology. For theology, as all modern thought, has been influenced by three "revolutions" of thought: Darwin's cosmic and organic evolution pointing to the unity of the human species; Marx's economic and dynamic interpretation of history; and Freud's discovery of the subconscious dimension of personality. Theological thought has felt the reverberations of these ideas. It has rediscovered the organic developing reality of the Body of Christ growing toward maturity. And this ecclesiology has been

intensified by a liturgical renaissance, which points to the Eucharist as both symbol and reality of the Church uniting God's people with themselves and in Christ. The scientific study of Scripture has been indebted to the dynamic notion of history and sees this dynamism as God's intervention working out his plan for salvation. This biblical outlook has had its counterpart in the social order where questions of the theology of work, and the role of the layman are being raised. Finally the new focus on person has led theologians to explore the "psychology of grace," and the Christian's personal relationship to each Person of the Trinity.

Each of these modern emphases highlights the Ignatian vision and deepens it. In the interior aspect of vision, the biblical story of the conflict of Christ vs. Satan on a cosmic scale finds individual application in in the heart of every Christian who must fight this battle anew. Modern theology points out how this interior struggle as structured in the *Exercises* is biblical in outlook.

The theology of the relationship of grace and freedom also has influenced this interior aspect of vision. Man must learn to integrate his infra-conscious energies in his decisions. Ignatian discretion and docility to Holy Spirit give us a tool for integration; for self-examination becomes less a preoccupation with self and more a movement into reality, an acquiescence to the action of grace on every level. The modern theology of grace with its stress on divinization of man underlines Ignatius' mystical, almost uninterrupted, consciousness of the presence of the Trinity. His essentially Trinitarian spirituality now rediscovered casts a fresh new light on all his key concepts e.g.: even the sinner of the First Week sees himself as unworthy temple of indwelling Trinity.

The exterior aspect of vision (loving service to the Church) is deepened by theology's stress on the ecclesiology of the Mystical Body and on liturgy. While his loyalty was more focused on the institutional aspects of the Church, the modern stress is on the worshiping community. Although his liturgical sense was limited by his times, he still saw the Mass as pivotal in his Church-centered spirituality; his eucharistic orientation was an outgrowth of a vision of Christ the Mediator, who brings to concrete focus in the Eucharist the whole of reality, God, man and the material universe. The *Exercises* are not opposed to the liturgy, since they both draw their substance from salvation history; the liturgy presents these events leisurely over a year, while Ignatius telescopes them into a month. Both are alive to the reality of these events as living and present, not merely past history.

The second enrichment of this exterior aspect of vision comes from the modern layman's awareness of his apostolate. The layman sees his role, not as directly salvific as a priest, but directly concerned with the temporal and its reconstruction. In this he shares in Christ's redemptive work. This has led to a whole new dimension of Ignatian "mysticism of service." The layman faces the same apostolic problem of formal prayer mentioned before. And the idea of "contemplation in action" is a keystone in solving the tensions of prayer-work relationship.

Conclusion. Thus we have tried to situate the Ignatian vision, in its

interior-exterior aspect, in relation to modern theology. Remember that the origins of this vision were in interior solitude and detachment; so it was always a theology of the cross for Ignatius. But this detachment and freedom of heart made sense to him only in the larger context of service in the Church. Thus the apostle too will have his "dark night" of the contemplative, but in and through apostolic activity itself, its frustration and failure. Mortification must be continual, not in the sense of flight from the sensible, but it must enable the apostle to find God in all things, to love all creation, as God does himself, through activity. Remaining always Trinitarian and Eucharistic in orientation, Ignatian spirituality is a *mystique* of service through love (rather than loving union) in which the Person of Christ is the great Mediator between God, man and the material world. Modern theology has therefore helped to bring out the depth of the Ignatian vision.

Note: *In a postscript, the Editor of* ***Downside Review*** *makes some observations on the idea of contemplation, and Father Mooney replies with a stress on prayer as a modality of service. Lest we miss the nuances of this dialogue we do not attempt to summarize it here.*

(Gerard F. Waldorf, S.J.)

GRACE AND THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES, by Jose M. Fondevila, S.J., *Manresa,* Vol. 34, #131, 1962, pp. 163-78.

Today everyone recognizes the strictly supernatural character of the Spiritual Exercises, *in which the accent falls not upon voluntarism but upon the grace of God in a special way. Because they aim to instruct us in the way in which God sanctifies men, this essay concentrates on the dynamic function of grace rather than its ontological aspect.*

Even the man in grace comes to the *Exercises* feeling the effects of the three concupiscences, so that the whole *raison d'etre* of the *Exercises* is to diminish concupiscence and establish once again the equilibrium of man's spirit; in this way, he may dispose of himself completely, without interior resistance; and all that he is may become an expression of what he freely desires to be in the depths of his being. Grace tends to restore the equilibrium lost in Paradise, the gift of integrity.

While the ascetical and mystical life may be considered as a return to the original state of Adam, we should realize that the entrance of sorrow into the world and the struggle into which the history of salvation has been converted demand a spiritual force much stronger that the gift of integrity, if we would attain absolute freedom. Moreover, within the context of Christianity, we may be asked to exercise evangelical virtues —often to an heroic extent—which suppose physico-spiritual forces much stronger than those demanded for complete freedom in Paradise. In the life of the man who is perfectly indifferent, everything sings the divine glory; in the absence of all disordered affections, the will and the affections can fly to God with all the thrust provided by love.

Man stands in continual need of God's abundant graces if he desires to live that life which in many respects is superior to that of Adam in Paradise. The absolute necessity of grace explains how all the good acts of our life will have to be attributed wholly to God's generosity, although I can in truth call them my own. If all progress toward perfection is a gift of God, it is not difficult to establish the absolute importance of the prayer of petition in the *Exercises*, for theology teaches that grace is absolutely conditioned on prayer—and indeed that graces can be won infallibly through humble prayer. Thus we can understand the central position of prayer within the supernatural technique of the *Exercises*.

Response to Grace. Certainly it is the action of God, exterior and above all interior, that transforms us into a new creature; this action, however, supposes that man is not passive or inert. The initiative of God is an invitation made to a man possessed of authentic liberty; his response must take the form of personal, painful effort. If meditation and contemplation saturate the soul with a supernatural outlook and place it under the action of grace, the work of asceticism in general is to make the soul responsive to the least manifestation of God's will. If we had to establish a primacy between prayer and asceticism, we would have to say that prayer is primary, for grace alone, which is conditioned by prayer, can insure our good will.

The Scriptures and the Church's Magisterium teach us that the ascetical effort is demanded of man by the Lord. The following dictum of St. Ignatius illustrates the same point: "There are few men—perhaps no one in this life—who realizes the obstacles they set up to the work that God would accomplish in them, if there were no such obstacles."

The Augustinian teaching on external graces indicates a very *positive* relation between grace and Ignatian method. Ordinarily God does not enlighten the mind or move the will apart from some external thing like a sermon or one's reading, conversation or good example. Supposing that God desires to save men, using men as His instruments, we may conclude that the better are the means they employ the more likely is God to use these means as external graces. Thus, method, the counsels of the director, the effort of the exercitant, the presentation of the various meditations—all have a direct relation to the grace of God. Obviously we can do no more than suggest the ordinary ways of God, while acknowledging His absolute freedom.

Other elements in the *Exercises*, less intellectual, more of a sensible nature, can also bear a relation, more distant and mediate, to the grace of God. The sense appetites can certainly be a disposition for grace. Is every biological structure equally accessible to grace? *A priori* it seems clear that biological conditions should in some way determine the reception of grace, for body and soul share a common life. *A posteriori* experience teaches us that Christian charity cannot develop with complete facility in a person whose instincts of sympathy have not matured since childhood. Charity then and the other virtues need instinctive dispositions to support them and to serve as material causes within the total economy of grace. In our apostolic work, in Christian education

and in the use of the *Exercises*, we reach only this area of the lower dispositions; grace itself then comes directly from God, and man's task is to receive it.

The sense appetite, moreover, is the partial cause of what Suarez calls accidental devotion, which accompanies the acts of understanding and will and is more helpful in every state. This sensible devotion reaches the heights of delicateness and intensity in mystical contemplation; in fact the sense appetite can be actuated in all mental prayer, in such a way that this actuation, the sensible devotion, brings facility, perfection and constancy to the prayer, and helps to overcome the impediments that may arise from the sense appetite.

Grace of Exercises. Is there a grace proper to the *Spiritual Exercises?* St. Ignatius distinguishes between a grace he calls ordinary and a special and intensive grace. This last is more proper to the *Exercises;* he tries to explain it to the exercitant from the very beginning, in order that he may recognize it and use all possible means to obtain it. The soul experiencing this consolation is penetrated through and through with God's grace, and is able to love creatures only in their Creator. For St. Ignatius this grace is the aim of all his *Exercises;* if this grace is obtained, the end of the *Exercises* is obtained. It is presupposed that if the exercitant is faithful, he will continually receive all the help he needs to advance along the road to sanctity. The director is to supplement the basic indications of this grace found in the book of the *Exercises* with elements drawn from his own experience. The action of God in this case includes the generous and free response of man; grace never absolves us of co-operation; it enkindles our co-operation. The discernment of spirits, openness to the director, the prayer at the beginning of each meditation, the concentration in each meditation on what is most fruitful, the length of the various weeks, the instructions on meditation given by the director, and so on—everything is directed to the one aim of obtaining this grace. Finally, only in the light of what we are saying can we understand the teaching of St. Ignatius on the application of the senses; to smell and to taste the infinite sweetness of the Divinity is possible only by the special action of God.

The activity of the individual demanded by the Ignatian method, from recollection and external penances to *agere contra* and the third degree, is aimed at destroying every obstacle to grace. This single finality of the *Exercises*, along with the relationship established by God between grace and its reception in the soul, is essential for an understanding of the *Exercises*. The faithful exercitant can be so sure of God's grace, that St. Ignatius speaks of this consolation as the ordinary grace.

Even in the third method of the election, it seems that Ignatius hoped for a confirmation given by God through his special consolation. He is firmly convinced that God will not deny this grace to the generous soul, indeed that God continually provides the soul with all the graces he needs, through divine visitations carried on with limitless generosity. The basic reason for this conviction is given us by the theological teaching on grace. The initiative always lies with God, so that every petition

rising from the heart of man is really an effect of God and contains within itself, as in a seed, the divine response filled with the purest love. When a man decides to approach God, it is not he that first goes out to meet God; but rather this very decision is already a sign that God has gone out to meet him with a love that is completely gratuitous.

Frequently, God grants these graces with the co-operation of men; but in the second rule for discerning spirits given in the second week, St. Ignatius speaks of another way of bestowing grace—the consolation that comes from God without preceding cause. There is no problem in admitting that intellectual knowledge and even imagination play a part in this consolation; in addition, we can admit the influence of the unconscious and the subconscious. None of these elements, however, can be the *adequate* cause of this consolation. In what form does God act in the production of this grace? Certainly He does not act in a way that is purely extrinsic. In the very depths of man's consciousness, God resides, calling and working unceasingly; patient fidelity to these invitations will bring us to some type of awareness of this intimate action of God. This experience, moreover,—call it mystical in some form, if you wish—is encountered in a way more or less perceptible in every authentically Christian life. And this action of God, in becoming conscious, can come to be in fact the supreme motive that gives consistency to our most human acts. The problem is to know under what psychological form the action of God in the soul becomes conscious. The formal effect of this action of God in the very roots of our being seems to be concretized in a love that is gratuitous and disinterested—a real physical echo of the pure love that constitutes the very being of God.

Although nuances may vary, the gratuitous and disinterested character of this love is a constant; it will cause us to desire the abnegation proposed in the Gospels, to understand and embrace the Cross as the most perfect fulfillment of our nature as sons of God. This inner experience of the folly of the Cross gives birth immediately to an overwhelming joy, the best of all consolations, which originates in the immediate action of God, pure Love, who touches the soul and enkindles there a love which brings about this consolation.

Only in the very experience of spiritual joy can we perceive concretely the gratuity and disinterestedness of this love, both God's love for us and our love for God; it is not a process of reasoning that begins with my experience of God's disinterested love and moves to make a return of love, in order that spiritual joy may result. In these experiences of true joy, the soul feels herself experientially drawn by God, but we should not look for a reflex consciousness of this whole situation. In the final analysis this experience is no more than the complete fruition and development of faith and charity; it has much in common with faith, sharing its essential qualities in an extraordinary way. Like the certainty of faith, it cannot be produced by any merely human force; once possessed, its abiding presence cannot be guaranteed by any natural force; it remains the gratuitous and loving work of God.

When the soul first enters upon the road of spiritual progress, this

consolation without preceding cause is something which breaks in upon her spirit and interrupts in a miraculous way the normal course of her psychological life. At first, it is not easy to recognize the action of God with complete certainty; it becomes increasingly easy as man progresses in a spiritual life dominated more and more by gratuitous and disinterested love; this consolation in turn becomes a continuous experience, informing all the events of one's psychological life.

The soul, docile to the action of God, lives now on His level, having arrived at a state similar to that which resulted from the gift of integrity. There will always be some danger of illusion; for apart from a rare gift of God, the soul will never be completely purified of all egoism as long as this earthly exile lasts.

St. Ignatius thinks that the exercitant must reach this state (at least temporarily) in the second week, at the summit of the *Exercises;* for it is the best preparation for the Election, in which he desires to see the will of God. After the Election no additional rules for discernment are given—they are no longer necessary.

St. Ignatius supposes that after the *Exercises* there will be a progressive action of the Spirit in those souls that submit to His direction. Thus, the gift of these graces and their subsequent discernment, infrequent in the beginning, end up as something frequent and ordinary in souls that continue to progress until this gift constitutes their normal state. This is the idea of the Saint, when he tells of the interior law of charity and love which the Holy Spirit writes on men's hearts.

In passing we may point out that St. Ignatius considers the first time of making the Election the most perfect; for the entire soul, drawn by love of His majesty, is absolutely certain that she is fulfilling the demands of St. Ignatius, that the eye of her intention is simple prior to the Election, that she is motivated only by the service and praise of God and the salvation of her soul.

Without denying that frequently these graces are given as light for the understanding, we are inclined to believe that more frequently they are received in the will. This is especially true in the *Exercises,* for it is disordered affections that most hamper our efforts to discover the will of God.

The special grace of God now communicates to the will a new strength to integrate all that could have served to impede the attainment of our end; now man is able to attain that qualified liberty that permits a complete and total disposition of himself, with not the slightest resistance to his self-determination.

There is no contradiction in saying that this grace acts in some cases upon the will alone; what happens is that the grace in question increases for the will the attraction of the goal already proposed.

It is clear that once the will is strengthened with this divine force and inflamed with charity, once the disordered affections have been consumed in this fire, our love continues to be purified; the perfect transformation

of the heart moves toward realization in such a way that God shines forth as the reason why we love all things.

(Eugene J. Barber, S.J.)

THE ELECTION ACCORDING TO ST. IGNATIUS, by Jacques Roi, S.J.

Which is the correct theory of the preferred method of election? Is the second method or the third of greater value? A discussion of Father Rahner's theory and a study of the question in the Directories.

L'Election D'Apres Saint Ignace, Jacques Roi, S.J., *RAM*, #151, (1962) pp. 305-23.

Everyone admits that the heart of the *Exercises* is the election, but there is wide disagreement concerning the best way to make an election. St. Ignatius proposed three different methods. In the first, God draws the retreatant's will so forcefully that the supernatural origin of the call is self-evident. In the second method, God manifests Himself by lights and consolations which incline the soul to whatever God desires, even though the retreatant experiences a profound distaste. In the third method of election, the retreatant relies on both reason and faith, without experiencing any special help from God.

What is the relationship between these three methods of election? Is one method of greater spiritual value than another? For example, a person is about to choose his state of life. How is he going to find out the will of God in this matter? If God attracts him by certain inclinations of soul, should he see in these inclinations real supernatural signs, or should he reason out his life? If God speaks to men, does He prefer to use spiritual gifts, or even mystical ones, rather than the ways of reason supported by positive theology?

The Problem. The dispute between writers is particularly centered around the second and third methods of election—which is the preferred method? Karl Rahner has said that according to St. Ignatius the election made under the special impulse of God's grace is of greater value than the election made with the help of moral theology. The latter type of election is a last resort, reserved for times when the divine impulse fails, or when the soul does not perceive this impulse clearly enough. An election of this type should not be considered the normal way to make an election. Expressing a contrary view, L. Sempé has written: "To find out your vocation, sometimes interior inspirations of grace, controlled by the discernment of spirits, are sufficient. But there are few cases of this type. And since they do not readily lend themselves to direct control, in practice we will always submit them, for greater certitude, to the lights of supernatural reason, that is to say, to the third method of election. This will be the only method employed in the generality of cases. The search for vocation in Ignatian teaching, therefore, is not founded on the experienced attractions of grace, but on Christian

deliberation. Certainly these attractions are neither unknown nor disregarded. They are very significant. But only by way of exception should you see in them a decisive sign of divine call."

Which of these interpretations is correct? The solution lies in a closer study of the writings of St. Ignatius and his associates. We have at our disposal four important documents: St. Ignatius' Directory for the time of election, the Directories of John Polanco and Gonzalez Davila, and finally the 1599 Directory of the Exercises, prepared at the request of two General Congregations (1558 and 1565).[1]

In his Directory for the time of election, St. Ignatius states that the essential role of the Spiritual Exercises is to help the retreatant choose his state of life. The third part of this same Directory says: "Concerning the three possible methods of election, if God does not move the retreatant by the first method, the retreatant should stress the second. Consolations and desolations experienced in this method will reveal his vocation." The second method is the only one to be emphasized. Ignatius says the retreatant should take his resolution, the decision of his state of life, after movements of his soul, and if these are lacking or do not give sufficient supernatural light, then the retreatant should pass on to the third method of election. Ignatius placed special emphasis on God's grace as a source of enlightenment to the retreatant.

In his Directory, Father John Polanco, who received his spiritual formation directly from St. Ignatius, commented on and made a thorough study of Ignatius' directives. Polanco's Directory is valuable because it is one of the best sources we have for understanding the Spiritual Exercises.

Polanco emphasizes the second method of election: ". . . the retreatant should observe the movements of his soul, without reasoning, prepared to receive the inspiration of the Holy Spirit." If the retreatant seems to be making progress, the retreat master will propose another meditation to see if the retreatant's state of soul changes. If it does not, the retreatant may then make his decision. There is no need for passing on to the third method of election. But Ignatius has told us that the evil spirit can disguise himself as an angel of light, so there is need for prudence. If the retreatant or the master are doubtful about the supernatural value of the consolations the retreatant has experienced, they can apply the third method of election. You may do this, but Polanco says there is no obligation. It's solely a matter of greater security.

Polanco proposes the following case. A retreatant makes an election according to the second method. Because of some doubt about his choice he then uses the third method. But the conclusion of the third method differs from that of the second. What should the retreatant do? If he has solid reasons against his second method election, he should discount his choice. But if his reasons against his election are rather weak, and the movements of soul he experienced during the second method elec-

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[1] All of these documents can be found in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, vol. 76.

tion appear more enlightening than the new reasons against his election, then the retreatant should stick by the conclusion of his second method election.

If a person does make an election according to the third method, he must offer his choice to God, not as a formality, but because the election is not yet completed. The retreatant must await a response from God. Consider the following cases:

1. The retreatant experiences heavenly consolations and lights. First certified by the Rules for the Discernment of Spirits, these interior enlightenments indicate God approves the election.
2. After making a third method election, movements of soul contradict the election already made. But after testing them, these new thoughts are of doubtful origin, so no change is necessary.
3. Movements of soul from the good spirit contradict the election. This proves the reasoning was faulty, and it is necessary to make the election again.
4. After a third method election, no special movements of the soul in one direction or another are experienced. This means that God wishes His will be discovered by reason alone.

Polanco, following Ignatius, places greater emphasis on motions from the spirit than on reasoning alone.

Fr. González Davila also stresses the high spiritual value of movements of the soul in order to know the will of God. He says the second method of election is the ordinary type of election. Because the election is a difficult thing, Fr. Davila, more than his predecessors, insists on the need of prudence in the retreat director. He must be able to recognize the good and evil spirits moving the soul of the retreatant.

In 1599, 41 years after the First General Congregation requested it, Fr. Aquaviva published the Directory of the Exercises. The editor of the 1599 Directory relied heavily on the Directories of Polanco and Davila. Davila in turn had studied and annotated Polanco's Directory. With regard to the election, these two fathers agreed on the following points:

1. The second method of election is the ordinary method.
2. Theologically speaking, the spiritual value of the second method is superior to the third, because the experiences of consolation come directly from God and the Holy Spirit.
3. After making an election according to the second method, the retreatant is not obliged to use the third method as a check.
4. Since retreatants differ so much, prudence will at times counsel the third method, despite consolations experienced in a second method election. There may be danger, because Satan can disguise himself as an angel of light.
5. Occasionally it will be necessary to return to the second method, since the third method is not always convincing.

The 1599 Directory, however, makes a remark that cannot be found in the Directories of Davila and Polanco. It says the third method should be used not only when the second method has proved inconclusive, but also as a means of checking on an election made according to the second method. It also affirms the primacy of reason in making an election. At the same time the 1599 Directory contradicts itself and says the second method of election is preferable to the third: you may also try the third method, but ordinarily there is no obligation to do so. In another place it states that the reasons introduced by the intellect are of little value, and the clarity obtained from the movement of the soul inspired by God is superior to the third method.

The contradiction in the 1599 Directory is due to Fr. Aquaviva, who seems to follow Fr. Mercurian in insisting on the third method of election. Later writers follow these changes (favoring the third method) introduced in the 1599 Directory. This, however, was not the thought of St. Ignatius.

(Edmund F. Clyne, S.J.)

THE NAME OF THE SOCIETY, by Th. Baumann, S.J.

A historical survey of the name of "Company of Jesus" and the mystical experience which gave it birth.

Compagnie de Jesus, La confirmation de ce nom dans la vision de la Storta, by Th. Baumann, S.J., *Revue D'Ascetique et de Mystique*, #149, (1962) pp. 52-63.

The explanation of the "Company of Jesus" is closely linked with the vision of La Storta; this relationship was confirmed by St. Ignatius himself. When asked to explain this unusual expression or when frequently requested to modify it slightly, he would often refer to revelations of a superior order as the basis for the claim that God Himself had imposed this name and not himself. This revelation was a vision in which Ignatius saw Our Lord carrying the cross, and Ignatius, by a gesture of Christ Himself or of the Eternal Father, was invited to be a helper. Ignatius gives the essence of the vision with the words: "God the Father placed me with Christ, His Son."

Nadal, addressing the scholastics at Coimbra, interpreted the vision thus: the Father having placed Ignatius with His Son bearing the cross implies that the *militia* into which we are called is entitled "Company of Jesus." This explanation, like that of Lainez and others, seems to overlook the fact that the name was not instituted at the vision but confirmed. In other words, Ignatius long knew from the spirit of his group what it should be called; he only needed confirmation of it.

Several months before La Storta, when St. Ignatius had not as yet any idea of going to Rome, his companions were returning from there (Spring, 1537) and not only did they report the favorable impressions which they had made upon the Pope, but they also related that their

voyage to the Holy Land seemed highly improbable even during the following year. From that moment, perhaps, Ignatius began to foresee the eventuality of having not Jerusalem or some foreign shore, but the Eternal City as his theatre of operations. Granting his state of mind, this prospect filled him with repugnance.

The sources have thus revealed St. Ignatius' fundamental attitude as he traveled to Rome: a firm resolve not to give up his intended, but unlikely pilgrimage to Jerusalem; a certain repugnance toward the moral climate of the large city and apprehension of the circumstances into which he would soon be immersed. In this psychological frame of mind, was it not normal that at the approach to Rome he placed all his hope in God and Our Lady and ceaselessly prayed, against all probability, for the favor of going to the Holy Land with his companions?

La Storta. It was with these thoughts that he entered the chapel of La Storta to pray, and it was there that he had the mystical experience which he had hoped to have at Jerusalem: the accomplishment of his fondest wish, namely to feel, along with his companions, definitely accepted by the Eternal Father as helpers of Christ carrying His cross. That which he had desired to obtain at Jerusalem, God granted to him at the gates of Rome. Ignatius now understood the meaning of God's words: *"Ego vobiscum ero"*; for he realized, by virtue of this superior illumination, that he would not leave Rome. Once the evolution of events had confirmed the mystical experience, he said Mass in the chapel crypt of Sancta Maria Maggiore, Christmas night, 1538.

Thus with the name of his company confirmed, St. Ignatius set about his tasks with renewed vigor; for as Nadal was to comment some years later (1554): *"Dixit: Ego vobiscum ero, quo manifeste significabat Deum nos in socios Jesu elegisse."* (Arthur J. Arrieri, S.J.)

OBEDIENCE OF JUDGMENT AND BLIND OBEDIENCE, by Carlos Palmes, S.J.

A study of these key concepts in which he shows obedience of judgment and blind obedience are sometimes synonymous and sometimes not. A general analysis of both types follows.

Obedience of the Judgment and Blind Obedience, from *Manresa*, Vol. 34 #131 (1962) pp. 139-62.

There is obedience of the judgment, blind obedience, and obedience of the understanding. Are they the same or distinct? In perfect obedience does one prescind from the faculty of understanding or only from formulating a judgment? Is it a practical or speculative judgment? Is the inferior to change his norms each time the superior has a change of mind? Does "to subject the judgment" mean to believe that what the superior commands is objectively more conformed to truth, more prudent, more effective or the only means that God wants of the subject on that occasion?

Ignatius uses the terms obedience of the judgment and of the understanding indiscriminately. The judgment should be conformed as much as the will can incline it. "Obedience of the judgment" and "blind obedience" sometimes mean the same thing and sometimes they do not.

There are two ways of obeying according to Ignatius. One is common and consists in obedience of the will and reserving one's judgment. The second way is perfect and consists in not only obedience of the will but also of the understanding which he calls blind obedience. There is a negative aspect to blind obedience: abnegation of the will; and there is a positive aspect: trying to see eye to eye with the superior. One should look for reasons in his favor. Therefore all blind obedience is obedience of the judgment but not all obedience of the judgment is blind.

Blind Obedience. The general view of blind obedience is as an act or habitual attitude which only rejects reasons that weaken perfect obedience. It should be kept in mind that God cannot order the subject to offend Him. Sometimes there are reasons that can disturb obedience to which the subject should close his eyes. One should not reflect on the human weakness of the superior. One should be careful if what is commanded is contrary to one's inclinations, for it is then natural to look for reasons for not doing it. The rule which should be followed is to have a general attitude or disposition to prescind from all reasons that can destroy the perfection of obedience. But it is good to use both natural and supernatural reasons if they help. The *tantum quantum* rule with creatures also applies to reasons. If one finds any reasons against the thing commanded, he should examine them, pray over it, and then propose them indifferently to the superior. The subject should be ready to do what the superior decides. In the letter of Ignatius to Father Viola two ways of obeying blindly are mentioned where there is no question of sin. The first is to make the understanding captive and to obey; the second is after the command, to present any reasons against it without inducing the superior to one side or another, in a spirit of humility.

Even though the presentation should be a radical immolation and total death to oneself with only the desire to do God's will in all things, this does not mean passivity or skepticism on the part of the subject. The criterion here is the same for the subject as for the superior: the service of God. The *Constitutions* presuppose this norm. If any obstacle appears in any job assigned one should see the superior. This is necessary for the greater glory of God.

When presenting the matter to the superior simplicity is the key spirit. If the superior is unaware of the situation one may remind him with due humility. No pressure should be used on the superior. Ignatius found most annoying a certain spirit of "decreeing" which uses words like "this is the truth," "there is no other way," "it's necessary to do this." The subject should be content with just presenting the matter.

Selfless Indifference. There is need of constant abnegation for God to invade the depths of the human soul. A transformation is needed. There

are three degrees of indifference: (1) the subject obeys but says to himself that he wouldn't have done it if he hadn't been commanded; (2) the subject feels inclined not to obey but conquers himself using the means available; (3) the subject is only interested in the greater glory of God and completely indifferent to sickness or health, to life or death. These texts do not mean insensibility or lack of initiative. They only say we have to fight bravely against all that impedes the completion of God's will. This requires a wealth of energy.

Finally, in obedience of the judgment, there is the threefold oblation of thinking the same as the superior, subjecting one's proper judgment as much as the will can incline the understanding. There is no difficulty here when dealing with the two extreme positions of complete discord or complete harmony with the superior. The first case is legitimate for the subject if the superior commands a sin and there is a psychological impossibility to conform the judgment. But it is not easy to know whether it is certainly a sin or evidently false. In the case of complete harmony with the superior, this might be due to a mere coincidence which still requires the will, the same temperament, or the fact that the subject is very adaptable by nature. The subject should accept this coincidence as an aid in doing God's will. The ideal occurs when at first there is no coincidence but through grace and prayer, the subject and the superior see eye to eye. The real problem occurs when dealing with intermediaries, when there is no complete harmony or discord. The order is not clear, not certain. The rule for probabilism might hold here.

The aim of Ignatius is to obey spontaneously with joy and no trouble. Supernatural reasons to look for are: (1) the subject should remember that he is obeying Christ, not the superior; (2) that there is one connection in Christ and the superior, in that the superior is His vicar; (3) that since Christ is Wisdom, Goodness, and Charity, there is a sure guarantee that His commands will be true, moral, and for the spiritual good of the subject. This is explicitly stated in the Letter on Obedience.

If the superior agrees with us, all well and good. It helps. It is not sufficient to look for natural reasons such as these: is what the superior commands the objective truth? more probable than my view? more prudent, right and just? The subjective norm should be the greater glory of God.

Love is the basis of the most perfect obedience possible. The relationship between the superior and subject should be that of father and son. Ignatius wants us to obey with love and this implies or presupposes an affective current of cordiality and sympathy. There is a close union. The superior will desire his subjects to help him in his deficiencies and will desire to please them.

(George A. Restrepo, S.J.)

SOME INSTANCES OF THE PERSONAL OBEDIENCE OF ST. IGNATIUS, by Carlos Palmes, S.J.

Does Ignatius himself exemplify in his own life the total submission of obedience he teaches? Father Palmes approaches this question in a second article on Ignatian obedience, giving many examples and his conclusions to this problem.

Some Instances of the Personal Obedience of St. Ignatius, from *Manresa*, Vol. 34, #132 (1962) pp. 263-80.

Did Ignatius himself act in accordance with the obedience he taught? In the *Constitutions* he affirms the virtue of obedience, primarily to the Supreme Pontiff and then to the superiors of the Society. Yet he resisted by positive steps when the Pope wished to make bishops of Jay and Cansius and a cardinal of Borgia.

He says that a sign of the will of a superior, even without express command, is to be obeyed. The Pope not only insinuated, but clearly manifested his will to make Jay a bishop. In spite of this, Ignatius used every possible means to prevent it. He says that the subject must present reasons without prejudicing the superior toward that which the subject wishes, yet he himself uses every effort to win the Pope and the whole Roman Curia over to his view. He says that the will and the judgment must be made to conform to the will and the judgment of the superior, but he commands a thorough investigation to see if an order of the Pope can be diverted, or at least deferred, in case the latter were to oblige Canisius to accept the episcopacy under holy obedience.

Ignatius reiterates that the subject may disobey only when commanded to do what is certainly sinful, though he himself does not obey the Pope unless he is commanded under pain of sin. He wants the will of God to be recognized in the command of any superior. When the trial at Alcalá, although it declares his innocence, silences him until he studied more, instead of taking this as the will of God, he departs from that jurisdiction in order to follow his own will. And he leaves Salamanca for Paris when he is forbidden by local authorities to speak of the distinction between mortal and venial sin. Ignatius takes Laínez severely to task for manifesting a difference of opinion with a superior about the change of a subject. He, however, merely permits, with express disapproval, the change of a subject as commanded by a monitum from a commission of cardinals, appointed by the Pope.

It may be concluded from these examples that Ignatius followed this doctrine very well when he commanded, but that he did not do so when he had to obey.

Principles of solution. In answering the difficulty we must consider respectively the principles involved and the cases to which they were applied. The principles are the limits on obedience: sin, contrary evidence, and the *Institute*. These will now be applied to the concrete examples of Ignatius' "disobedience" to the Pope.

One of the limits of obedience is the Institute. A subject would be obliged not to obey if commanded contrary to the *Constitutions* by a superior. But since the Pope is above the Institute, he may command something against the *Constitutions* and he is to be obeyed. There are examples of this in the history of the Society. However, the command of the Pope that is in conflict with the prescriptions of the Institute must have *the same force* as that expression of his will, or the will of a predecessor, by which the Institute was approved. When this is not clear, there is ample scope for representation. Supposing these principles, let us examine the facts.

1) The Trials at Alcalá and Salamanca. Ignatius and the companions whom he had gathered together to practice works of mercy and speak of the things of God to the neighbor were examined by ecclesiastical authorities in Alcalá. They were told to avoid the appearance of wearing a religious garb by dying their habits different colors. Ignatius was forbidden to go barefoot and spent 42 days in jail on account of the two pious women who went on a pilgrimage against his advice. Upon his release he was told not to speak about matters concerning the faith. He obeyed in everything except the order not to preach. After an interview with the Archbishop of Toledo, he decided to go to Salamanca.

In Salamanca he was examined by four judges, put in prison, and released on condition that he would not express his opinion about what constitutes a mortal sin and what a venial sin; otherwise he was found innocent and permitted to continue as before. He answered that he would do all that he was told, but that he would not accept the sentence because he was not found in error. He felt that it would limit his effectiveness in the apostolate toward his neighbor, so he left the jurisdiction of Salamanca and went to Paris. About these instances we may conclude that Ignatius paid due respect and obedience to the authorities, but since he felt a divine vocation to help his neighbor, he departed for other places where he could do so without impediment.

It is currently admitted that St. Ignatius received the apostolic vocation during his vision by the Cardoner. He had to follow this vocation until it became entirely impossible. Divine Providence had shown itself very clearly when he wished to stay in the Holy Land; he was forced to leave under a threat of excommunication. Ignatius was not a rebel against the authorities, but a "pilgrim," seeking a place where he could realize his divine vocation.

2) Ecclesiastical Dignities. The serious attempts to bestow on Jay, Canisius, and Borgia ecclesiastical dignities against the decided opposition of St. Ignatius are outstanding, though not unique.

In 1546, the King of the Romans wished to give the vacant See of Trieste to Claude Jay, who refused the honor on condition that such a refusal would not be clearly against the divine will as manifested by the command of one who could oblige him in God's name. The matter went to Pope Paul III; a Brief was to be drawn up, obliging Jay to

accept the dignity. Before this happened, Ignatius went to the Ambassador of the King, to the Pope, who wanted to please the King, and to the cardinals who could intervene. On the eve of the Consistory he visited the niece of the Pope, who gained a postponement until the King himself could be reached. Then Ignatius wrote to the King with the desired effect.

Six years later the same monarch, Ferdinand I, wished to see Canisius in the See of Vienna. Pope Julius III would have liked to please Ferdinand, but he did not want to displease the Society or Ignatius. Nothing came of it.

The same Pope had also wanted to confer the cardinalate on St. Francis Borgia and the eternal City was rife with rumors about this. Then on the night of February 4, 1551, Borgia fled secretly to Spain, a means devised by Ignatius and himself for avoiding this trial for the Society.

Solution: It must be admitted that Ignatius did everything in his power to prevent the nomination of members of the Society to ecclesiastical dignities. In this he consistently followed a principle. The letter of Father Bartholomew Ferrón to Dr. Miguel de Torres, authorized by Ignatius, shows in detail the course followed by Ignatius in the case of Jay, clearly revealing that he was aware of what he was doing and convinced of the correctness of his action. Ignatius writes to Canisius with detailed suggestions concerning the strategy to be followed until submission becomes inevitable as the Pope commands acceptance.

Although it cannot be doubted that Ignatius opposed ecclesiastical dignities by every conceivable means, this resistance was *not against the obedience owed to the Pope.* And not merely in conformity with the minimal demands of obedience of execution, but according to the perfect obedience that he taught. This is documental in the following:

a) The Pope had solemnly approved the Society in such a way that ecclesiastical dignities were excluded: Abuses connected with the episcopal office prompted St. Ignatius to affirm as the true spirit of the Society one diametrically opposed to that of the worldly bishops and priests of his day. This was solemnly approved in Papal Bulls. And these ideas were very much alive in the first members of the Society and in Ignatius, who expressed them in a letter to Ferdinand concerning the case of Claude Jay.

b) Accepting them would be equivalent to destroying the Society: This is a point of the greatest significance. For although a Jesuit might do some good as the bishop of one diocese, great harm would be done to the whole Church with the practical disappearance of the Society. Neither the Pope, nor the cardinals, nor the king could see that this was not for the greater service of God, but for Ignatius it was a matter of conscience to use every means to prevent ecclesiastical dignities for the Society. In certain circles the Society was looked upon as though it were a seminary from which bishops and cardinals could be taken. The letter of Polanco to Araoz testifies to this. But with such

a reputation, the simplicity and humility of the Society would be finished. This was the opinion of Ignatius and of the other members of the Society. Obviously, with only a few professed in the whole Society, establishing a precedent of taking them would be ruinous. The effectiveness of the Society would also be impaired with respect to the free access of its members to ecclesiastical dignitaries, for it would be said that they went to get office and favors. The most serious effect would be on the young men in training, who might conceive ambitions to high office, or who might be scandalized and leave.

Ignatius presents all these reasons forcefully in his correspondence, such as the letter to Ferdinand. Destroying the spirit of humility of the Society would be destroying the Society. The spiritual fruit reaped by the Society was in no small part due to this spirit. In 1546, when Ignatius resisted very strongly, there were only nine professed in the Society, and they had to give the example of the true spirit. A final argument was the scandal which the accepting of dignities might cause.

c) The pope, having the authority to command, never definitely manifested his will: From what has gone before we can derive two principles which are to be applied to the final solution: 1. After approving the Society with this essential spirit of humility, the Pope can be presumed to continue feeling this way as long as he does not clearly manifest his will to the contrary. 2. From the firm conviction of Ignatius that accepting dignities would be equivalent to destroying the Society it can be deduced that he had an obligation to prevent this. He was not defending his private opinion and interest against the universal good of the Church, but rather following the will of God as manifested in the original approbation of the Society.

1) There is no doubt that the Pope could end all opposition by a simple order under obedience. Ignatius and his companions were aware of this. The ambassadors in Rome used this knowledge as a lever to get their missions accomplished. The King and the Nuncio Martinengo asked the Pope to oblige Jay under holy obedience. This shows that Ignatius' motive was only the will of God, and that his difficulty was knowing the will of God. He wanted clear evidence of it in this contradictory situation.

2) In the case of Jay, the Pope did not express his will definitely, and Ignatius continued his efforts while considerations were going on. Ferdinand thought that it was merely personal humility on the part of Jay which made him refuse. Ignatius made it clear that this was a matter of greater service of God. In the case of Canisius the Pope approved the position of the Society, even though he would have liked to please Ferdinand. In the case of Borgia, Ignatius personally convinced the Pope that it would be better not to elevate him to the cardinalate.

It will be sufficient to present some documents in this well-known case of Octaviano Cesari to show why Ignatius took a purely permissive attitude before the intimation of the cardinals.

Octaviano's mother was a noble of Naples, who had opposed his en-

trance into the Society, and who now wished him in Naples in order to see him more frequently. Ignatius felt that this would endanger the vocation of Octaviano, but promised that he would be sent later. The lady's appeal to cardinals and to the Pope produced a commission of three cardinals, who wrote a monitum to the effect that Octaviano should be transferred to Naples. Ignatius then granted permission for this and ordered the local superiors not to prevent it. Polanco explained that this was against the judgment of Ignatius and that Octaviano was not obliged to go.

This was not a case of disobedience to the Pope for two reasons: 1. The decision was not made by the commission, but by a single one of the cardinals, and therefore invalid. 2. St. Ignatius considered it illicit to cooperate in the probable loss of vocation of Octaviano, which was put in grave danger by this move. Cited documents give evidence for all of this, and Octaviano *de facto* left the Society afterwards.

It may therefore be concluded that Ignatius always acted in accordance with his own principles of obedience, as is shown clearly in his way of acting in these, and in many uncontroverted, instances.

(Francis R. Kasteel, S.J.)

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE EXERCISES, by Hugo Rahner, S.J. *Geist und Leben*, (1962) #1-2.

It is decisive for a proper understanding of the *Exercises*[1] that we understand the theology of St. Ignatius as influenced both by his mysticism as well as by his theological studies in Venice and Paris. The first companions of Ign were convinced that the basic essentials of the *E* were directly related to his vision on the Cardoner which was fulfilled, clarified and brought to expression through Ign's personal, theological efforts. It is now certain that the nucleus of Ign's theology and mysticism is shaped by a concise Christology. Christ is the "Sun of Ignatius' life" (FN I, 504). This is true also for the ultimate configuration of the *E*. The climax of Ign's Christological formation and of his spiritual experiences was the vision at La Storta, where Xt spoke to him; "I wish that you serve us" (*FN* II, 133). It is this grace which he teaches us to beg for at the climax of the *E* (147): "to be received under the banner of Xt, Our Lord." Thus, if we wish to have a deeper understanding of the *E*, we must comprehend Ign's Christology; for the fundamental principle, the climax and goal of the *E* is the vision of the *Two Standards* in response to the call of Xt, the King.

A Christology of the *E* is important for two further reasons. First in order to trace the theology of the *E* and therefore the dogmatic convictions behind the words and statements as they lived vitally in the spirit of Ign, particularly since we cannot grasp the historical existence and apostolic effectiveness of the *E* without a precise knowledge of its

[1] For brevity the following abbreviations are used: Exercises (*E*); Ignatius (*Ign*); Christ (*Xt*).

Christo-centricity. Secondly, the *E* are a reflective involvement with the life of Jesus; and for this reason, it is necessary that the meditations on the life of Xt (which form the nucleus of the *E*) be fully appreciated. We can only grasp the total nature of the *E* in the light of the Second Week, since the Election alone reveals the meaning and goal of the *E*. And the content and motivation for this Election is derived from the "Mysteries of the Life of Jesus," all of which find their decisive grounding in the "Call of the King." The "First Week" with its theological and psychological realization of one's own sinfulness yields to the vision of the Crucified and the consequent exclamation of the exercitant: "What shall I do now for Xt?"

I. CHRISTOLOGY OF THE FIRST WEEK

The goal and high-point of the First Week can be seen where Ign (53) says: "I imagine Xt, Our Lord, present before me on the cross and begin to speak with him." The unexpected but self-evident manner with which the mention of the cross is brought in after the apparently cold, almost philosophical considerations on the *Foundation* (and after the psychological precision of the meditations on sin and the examination of conscience) is already an indication of how much painstaking effort must be given to a theology of our final goal and sinfulness: a theology which is ever directed to the cross. Thus the Crucified "appears" to the prayerful sinner of the First Week, as the mid-point in the total history of salvation in which one's own sinfulness appears. The entire work of the *E* from beginning to end is "to remove inordinate tendencies and to seek and find God's will"; just as the climax of the Election illuminated by the life of Jesus is "to find God our Lord in peace and to shake off every obstacle." This "peace" consists in the cross which is only gradually developed in the *E*. Just as Ign wishes the elements of the First Week to be separate from those of the Second Week, so too the basic structure of the entire process of the *E* should be kept in mind from the very beginning; i.e., the contest between the King and the Enemy which begins to take shape in the very depths of the exercitant.

Foundation. It may seem surprising if we try to unfold a Christology of the *E* here since there is no express mention of Xt, but only of reverence to God, of our attitude to the things of this world and, in the last sentence, of yearning for the things which are *more* conducive to our end. Most recent exegesis has concluded that the text of the *Foundation* can only be correctly understood in terms of the entire structure of the *E*, therefore, in terms of its real focus, which both historically and theologically can be found only in the contemplation on the *Kingdom* and *Two Standards* and in the very process of the *Election.* The text of the *Foundation* (23) can only be understood in the light of the text of the *Election* (169, 179). What is said in the *Foundation* concerning the salvation of the soul and indifference to all created things is a necessary disposition for one's election of a state of life. This consists in a triple gradation. 1) Salvation of one's soul. 2) Indifference to all

created goods. 3) Desire for imitation of the Crucified Lord and Creator which leads "more" to the final goal. The *Foundation*, therefore, is a highly compact theology of the entire process of the *E*, only understandable from the aspect of the Call of the King. If then the *Foundation* (as the old Directories counsel - *MI*, II, 2, 100f.) is presented in the form of a meditation, any significant development of its content must necessarily be Christological. Only in this manner will the exercitant understand the total significance of the *E* as "an ordering of one's life" and only later, when he has accepted the summons of God through Xt, the Incarnate Word, can he return once again to the *Foundation* with its exact, almost verbatim repetition in the *Election:* to see now that he had already in the "more" of the *Foundation* given assent to the Crucified, since the Incarnate Word alone is the perfect Man in and through Whom reverence, praise and service can be given to the Creator and Lord. For He alone has fulfilled the demands of the "more" in His victory over Satan and gained salvation for mankind through His death on the Cross.

It is also significant for understanding the basic structure of Ignatius' theology rooted in the graces of Manresa, that for him, Xt the Man is always "Our Creator and Lord." The latest studies on the *E* clearly indicate this. From the aspect of the Contemplation on the Sin of our First Parents we might venture to characterize the Christology of Ign as Scotist, which sees in Creation the beginning of salvation; the Incarnate Word, as the "Beginning of God's creation" (Acts 3, 14). Xt, the Son of Man is in this theology, even before the foreseen fall of the angels and our first parents, the Beginning and End of all being created in grace. The salvific death on the cross is the return to this beginning from which all things are created; i.e., the praise and reverent service of the Eternal Father through imitation of the God-Man's earthly existence. All things on the face of the earth are created for this purpose: to return again to the Father through Xt Crucified. All earthly things lead to the Father, because the Word by becoming man makes use of all things created by Him to overcome the entire world, to lay it at the feet of the Father. This is the end for which we were created (*MI*, I, 1).

Ign's theology in the *Foundation* oscillates between the world and the Heavenly Throne, between renunciation and embrace, between indifference to all things and finding God in all things. Ign himself says "We must contemplate all creatures, not as beautiful and lovely in themselves but as bathed in the blood of Xt" (*MI*, I, 12, 252). This is the Xtological meaning of the words at the end of the *Constitutions*. Every thing is created and has meaning only in relation to Xt.

The triple structure of the text of the *Foundation* (Salvation, indifference, the "more") corresponds precisely to that of the *Three Degrees of Humility* (165-67). The conviction behind the *Foundation* is a proving ground for the exercitant's capacity for the decisive election and for indifference towards all created things comprehended in Xt, and it is also essential for an Election which is definitely to shape one's life.

At the same time it is a preliminary exercise for the possible reformation of one's life pointed out in the "more" of the *Foundation* and only fully grasped in the meditations on the mysteries of Xt's life. Behind each sentence of the *Foundation* stands the God-Man. He is, in the fullest sense, the Man who was created to give praise, reverence and service to the Father. Only in Xt and His Death on the cross do we so understand indifference to created things that we are made worthy to share in the design by which Xt brings back all creation to the great "ordering of life," in renunciation and the cross. If we understand the *Foundation* Christologically, then we understand why the mysteries of Sin and Hell also end at the cross of the Eternal Word.

Contemplation on Sin: There are three divisions here: "*The History of Sin*" (45-54), "*The Psychology of Sin*" (55-63), and "*The Eschatology of Sin*" (65-71). To point out the Xtological content of these considerations is to lay the "foundation of fact" (2) without which there is no genuine relish and fruit. Sin is from the very beginning essentially a Xtological event.

Ign speaks of this Xto-centricity in his remarks on the *Considerations on Sin* (48). He speaks of "anguish with Xt in anguish" and "shame and confusion." This "shame" of the sinner is not without an object, but it is shame before the face of Xt the Lord. It is characterized somewhat later as "shame and confusion before his King and the whole court" (74). In the service of this repentance before Xt the Lord, all the penance which the exercitant takes upon himself in the First Week has this goal "that one wants deep sorrow for sin, or tears either because of his sins or because of the pains and sufferings of Xt our Lord" (87).

Meditation on The Three Sins or the "History of Sin." First—and what is fundamental for a complete understanding of the *E* up to the *Two Standards*—the vision of the Sin of the Angels (56). Ign uses curt, bland theological language following the teaching of Augustine and Thomas, and continues on somewhat in the language of the *Foundation* (50). The most important task for a more exact theological understanding of the *Sin of the Angels* is to illustrate its relationship to the Incarnate Word.

In what did the pride of the angels consist? In the denial of the God-Man whom they foresaw was to become man and who was to die on the cross for sins. Our justification for this interpretation rests upon the obvious term at which Ign concludes all the considerations on sin: the Cross (53, 71). This demonstrates why in the Second Week the battle with Satan is ultimately decided by love for the cross and why the "enemy of human nature" leads such a passionate campaign against the Church in the attempt to overthrow the Crucified. Note also the connection here with the point in the Second Week where the contemplation on Xt's temptation in the desert is concluded with the vision of the *Two Standards*. The first rejection of the principles of the *Foundation* in salvation-history took place through the angels; the perfect fulfillment of the *Foundation* in salvation-history was realized

in the Crucified God-Man. Therefore, this is precisely the sin of the devil in whom all the sins of man are rooted: (I Jn. 3, 8) that he denied Xt; and "for this has the God-Man come, to overthrow the work of the devil." As Scheeben says, the devil has a hatred of man, because he is a member of the body of Xt, because he is an heir to the glory which he himself lost and because men have joined Xt's standard. If this is so, then the basic, profound meaning behind the divine plan of salvation through the cross becomes clearer: that this destruction of man from the very beginning was avoided precisely by the "successful" destruction of the God-Man (2 Cor. 5. 21). Even Xt himself said concerning His exaltation on the cross: "The judgment of this world is now in progress. Now will the prince of this world be brought down" (Jn. 12, 31, 32).

Sin of Our First-Parents (51). Well-founded theological opinion on the nature of the sin of the first angels as the rejection of the God-Man also involves another theological problem. Was the Incarnation decided upon by God because the Divine Goodness was moved by reason of the sins it foresaw were going to take place (Thomistic), or was the Incarnation decided upon and desired beyond all other divine decrees primarily for the glorification of creation and only secondarily because of sin (Scotist)? Both are genuine theological opinions. In the text of the *E* we have no clear leaning to either school. But both really are intimately connected. It is interesting to note however, that the theology of "glory" and the "Divine Majesty" present in the *E* seems to be nearer to the Scotist position. For this reason it is interesting to read those theologians who follow this opinion such as Rupert von Deutz, Albert the Great, Suarez, Francis de Sales and Scheeben. We agree for this reason with Pohle-Gierens (II[8] p. 176ff) who holds that the Scotist theory recommends itself because of the central position given to the God-Man in the world-plan of the Trinity. He is the Alpha and the Omega.

It is from this latter point of view that we will interpret the *Sin of The First-Parents.* The text (51) is limited to the most essential lines of the biblical and theological sense of Original Sin; i.e., disobedience and its consequences, loss of grace, and a life of toil and penance. If we now, however, follow out Ign's exhortation to reason out "each particular," then we are also justified here in inquiring into the Christological significance of Original Sin. Only in this way do we find clarified the close relationship of all sin to the "Father of Sin" (Jn. 8, 44) and to the Cross as the vanquishing of the "sins of the world" (Jn. 1, 29). Thomas speaks (II, 2, 7c) of the necessity for an express belief in the Incarnation and this was even demanded before the fall. The deepest essence of Original Sin would be the ultimate rejection of the divine plan of having the glorified Head of mankind proceed from the descendants of the first parents. Thus Original Sin would tend in the same Christocentric "direction" as the *Sin of the Angels.* It evolved in the same way, through the "envy of Satan" and through the incomprehensible Wisdom of God's desire for our salvation; and thus it stands

in immediate relationship to the death of God on the cross. *Qui mortem nostram moriendo destruxit.*

Labor and suffering (51) as the consequences of Original Sin thus retain their theological place and can be later understood as the basic demands of the *Call of the King* (95) and as the basic-law in Jesus' life, who from His birth was pointed to the cross in LABOR (116) because only in this way was the GLORY of His Father possible. Thus we see here in our Christological interpretation of Original Sin the polarity between "labor and glory" which will run through the whole of the *E.*

The Mortal Sin Of "Any Person" (52). "Many have been damned eternally because of one sin." This would seem theologically and humanly inconceivable if the innermost nature of one mortal sin were not understood in the light of our Lord's words "You have the devil for your father" (Jn. 8, 44). We must realize what it is to sin against the "Divine Goodness." "Divine Goodness" is only capable of theological comprehension if we realize that the total mystery of the Incarnation took place because of the sins of the angels, original sin, and the share which each mortal sin has in the grim history of Satan's fall. Thus resulted the sweet vision of the still unvanquished Goodness of God whose death on the cross is the consequence of my own sins (Heb. 6, 6), and Who, at the same time as it were, by a single divine breath can produce the destruction of my sins only to the degree that I penitently commit myself to this "In-finite Goodness."

Now both theologically and spiritually we can see why Ign places the exercitant before Xt crucified and has him ask: "How is it that you as Creator have stooped to become man and passed from eternal life to death here in time and thus died for my sins?" (53) The intensity of this shattering question and its response is ruled by a theology of the cross. For Xt alone is the center of the entire history of sin, from the angels even to the very center of my heart: "Xt present and hanging on the cross." What shall I do for Xt? (53)

Consideration of One's Own Sins (Psychology of Sin). To what extent is this mystery of sin a reality in my own life? We are concerned here with the implicit Christology of this exercise in which an almost cosmic sense of sinfulness is expressed; and we think that the exercitant can only imitate this outcry of sinful creation, *"Quid agam pro Xto?"* if he is filled with the Christocentrism of a theology of sin. This is mainly important because in the text of the *E* there is no mention of Xt. Now the exercitant compares himself to creation in all its aspects. He finds himself placed in an unbearable loneliness of spirit vis-a-vis His Creator and Lord. The abyss between God and himself gapes and there is no other bridge but the bloody cross on which his Creator and Lord has died to make him a new and vital creation (2 Cor. 5.21).

But now the exercitant takes even a further step into the darkness of the mystery of the Crucified (59). He compares himself with the great God. This is not a mere theology of speculation on the limits of our contingent being; rather we must allow the bitter-sweet source

of one, single notion to pour into our thoughts. This God hangs on a cross, present before us, condemned by his own creatures.

Now we are ready to understand the *exclamatio admirativa* of the sinful soul. Now Ign becomes poetic if one can use these terms. This cry, breaking forth from his innermost depths is a singular vision of his mysticism in which all creation is seen against the background of the incomprehensible fact: that creation has sinned against its Creator. But this vision becomes an unheard of *Commedia Divina:* two camps are divided, based on their attitudes toward the Crucified (note the related idea in the *Two Standards*). All creation is on God's side, and the sinner stands alone in the presence of the abyss of Hell which must open unless a mysterious power seize this shattered cosmos. The force is not mentioned by name. It is only stated that the sword of God's justice tolerates me, that the saints prayed for me and all the elements have been at my service. How did this happen? It cannot be expressed in words but only in the "Colloquy of mercy" (61).

But we already know that this power is the love of God on the Cross; the Cross, by means of the fallen angels, produced those angels who are the guardians of redeemed man; it made saints from sinners. No longer new hells but a "new heaven and a new earth" (2 Pt. 3, 13). All creatures are "bathed in the blood of Xt." All creation is renewed on the cross for now is the age of mercy; and for this the exercitant stands in prayer and thanksgiving before the cross. Thus this consideration ends where the history of sin ended: at the incomprehensibility of the cross which can only in some small way be comprehended in prayerful colloquy with one's God.

This consideration on one's sins is now continued in the *Third Exercise* in an attempt at a deepening of the insights gained thus far. This repetition (63) takes a three-fold direction: a) begging for the grace for a "deeper knowledge of my sins," b) for the realization of my sins as being basically disorder; c) and to know the world. Now this deepening of the realization of sin brings out the antithesis between Satan, the Anti-Xt in the world in the Pauline and Johannine senses, (Jn. 12, 31; Eph. 6, 12), the Prince of "fire and smoke" (140), and the King-Xt "modest, beautiful and worthy of all love" (144). In a sense we are in the middle of the second Week, in the midst of the battleground within salvation-history and yet really in the midst of something which was met for the first time on the very first page of the *E:* to remove all inordinate tendencies and to seek and find God's Will in the regulation of one's life (1). In the Second Week this battle is treated more in detail. In the First Week there is a greater concern for the ultimate recognition of and "instinct" for what is contrary to the Divine plan in the form of basic sinfulness in myself and in the world.

At this point it is evident that Ign ascribes the attaining of this "instinct" to the intimate colloquy. Discourse is no longer possible here. The sublime grace for an intimate knowledge of sin and the world is connected with the colloquy to the "most holy intercessors" just as later in the climax of the Second Week, i.e., the *Two Standards* (147). Just

as formerly (58) we viewed the structure of the world of grace in its vertical line of ascent: earth—paradise—God; so now this line is repeated through the personnel of salvation-history: Mary—Xt—Father. And it is significant how Ign first introduces Mary within the context of a "deeper" knowledge of sin and a necessary discernment of spirits.

We are now situated at the heart of the First Week and we are in contact with the real nerve-center of the Exercises and the conversion-from sin; i.e., the two rules for discernment of spirits (314, 315). They are directly related to a profounder knowledge and sense for the "disorder" of sin. "Ordering of one's life" in the *E* (1) always means the opposite of "inordinate tendency" (16, 169, 172, 179). Order and disorder are, consequently, only two other designations for Xt and Satan; and it is for this reason that the request for a knowledge of disorder is directed to Mary, for she stands opposed to any element of sin in creation. In Mary the divine order of things was never disrupted. She is the great mediator for the rebuilding of order in the world through her Son. Thus the exercitant turns to her for this interior knowledge of order in Xt and the disorder of Satan, for "knowledge of the world" whose sinful vanity stands in opposition to the humble, chaste reality of the God-Man and his cross.

Then the exercitant turns to the Divine Son "in order to obtain the same from the Father." Xt here is "the one Mediator between God and man, the Man, Xt Jesus" (I Tim. 2.5). Therefore we turn to the Crucified to know in Him and through Him the disorder of the world in its most profound anti-Christian roots. "*Deformitas Christi te format*" says Augustine and now for the first time in the *E* Ign introduces the *Anima Christi.* It sketches out the development of the Xtological climax of the First Week, "Guard me should the enemy assail me" to the initial aspect of the Second Week "Bid me come to Thee." Thus in this prayer to Xt for a discernment of spirits is fulfilled the idea contained at the beginning of the *E* (15) : the Creator and Lord will inflame the soul with love of Himself and dispose it for His *greater* service.

Now there is yet one thing left for the exercitant to do—to turn to the Father of our Lord Jesus Xt for this grace. All words cease "and then the Our Father." Even this prayer can be interpreted Xtologically. In place of disorder "Your Will be done"; in place of the world, "Your kingdom come"; to battle Satan, "deliver us from evil." But Ign does not allow the exercitant to remain untested in his resolves. He demands a summary meditation (64), an encounter with Xt in colloquy through Mary to the Father in order to obtain the conversion from sin presupposed by the Second Week and also by the shuddering demands of the First and Second *Degrees of Humility* (165-166) ; for without these two degrees the ascent to the sublime heights of the *Third Degree of Humility* in imitation of Xt Crucified would be "tinkling cymbals."

Meditation on Hell (65-71) (*Eschatology of Sin*). Hell can only be understood through faith and in terms of the Person Crucified whose very Heart was pierced and whose Cross was a judgment-seat. Thus

souls are to be judged in terms of their reaction to the Word Who came into the world as Man. Heaven and Hell divide themselves relative to belief in "He Who has come" (I Jn. 4, 2-3). After the exercitant passes through "the length, breadth and depth" of Hell (65) he engages Xt in colloquy for the last time (71) and he is brought to see how this eternal destiny involving separation from God was determined by a denial of belief in the coming of the God-Man. Now we can look back to the contemplation on the *History of Sin* and realize that the innermost essence of the sin of the angels and of Original sin was nothing but a "no" to the foreseen coming of the God-Man. If, therefore, the exercitant falls on his knees before Xt at the end of the First Week and "thanks Him for not permitting me to fall into any of these three classes, so putting an end to my life" (71), then he gathers, so to speak, by means of an existential consideration, all the eternal decisions of past and future together with his own, into "the hour" when he must respond to the *Call of The King.* For in Xt there is still one more "today" (Heb. 3, 12-14). Thus we have outlined a Xtology of the First Week and only now do we know what was meant in the *Foundation* by "choosing what is *more* conducive to the goal for which we were created" (23). This "more" looks to the royal Word on the cross and to the corresponding words, "What shall I do for Xt?"

II. CHRISTOLOGY OF THE SECOND WEEK

It is well to realize that everything that is meant by *ordinatio vitae* (in the sense of a choice of a state of life) as used in the First Week is fulfilled by and subservient to the purposes of the *Election* in the Second Week. The relationship of the First to the Second Week (also Third and Fourth) can be characterized by the three levels of the *Foundation* (23) corresponding to the *Three Degrees of Humility* (165, 168). The foundation for these degrees is always the eternal salvation and this is built on the choice of life which culminates in the desire to do the *better* thing. The function of the First Week is, therefore, the concretization in terms of salvation-history of possible eternal salvation or damnation, and this concretization can only be comprehended relative to the "Creator and Lord" (57) coming as God-Man and dying on the cross. Between the Incarnation and Death on the cross the eternal fate of every creature is decided; and therefore the importance to us of Xt's earthly life.

Now the Second Week opens up before us. The attainment of the goal for which we were created consists in a renewed imitation of the earthly life of God, and this renewal is the concrete realization of the *magis* of the *Foundation.* The aim of the Second Week, an *ordinatio status vitae,* is to imitate Xt more by finding in the meditations on Xt's life grace for the choice of a state of life. The Second Week gives an answer to the question, "What shall I do for Xt?". The First Week is really only fulfilled in the Second. Imitation of Xt is impossible without indifference. The Election is supported by the Foundation; the knowledge of the vanity and disorder of the world is important for the *Two*

Standards. In the Second Week we must show in terms of *Heilsgeschichte* to what extent the life of Xt is the norm for a decisive election. But first, before we present the Xtology of several aspects of the Second Week, a few remarks on the theology of the *Imitatio Christi.*

Theology of the Life of Jesus. It is well to realize that the *Contemplation on the Earthly King* at the beginning of the Second Week is, as it were, the foundation for all the following meditations on the Life of Jesus. To posit a Xtology of the *E* in its historical context, a history of the *Imitatio Christi* would have to be sketched, beginning from the *devotio moderna* of Ludolph of Saxony and going back to the Church Fathers and finally to Paul (I Cor. 4.16; 11, 1, etc.). The basic structure on which the imitation of the Life of the God-Man is perfected is the contrast between "labor" and "gloria" or, in theological terms, between the God-Man's earthly existence and the glory of the Creator and Lord. It is, therefore, the task of the exercitant to find a deeper understanding of the Lord in continual contemplation of His visible life so that loving Him more and more he will imitate Him (104). And the battle between Xt and Satan is reflected by the conflict in each man's heart as a vital continuation of *Heilsgeschichte.* Thus the life of Jesus is for Ign not only exemplary in the edifying sense of the *Devotio Moderna*, but is the basic theological principle of every Christian's spiritual life which in its depths is always an ontological assimilation through grace to the dead and risen Lord of glory. Here would be the place for a theological consideration of the "syn" compounds in the Pauline Epistles. Biblically this Xtology of the *E* is supported by Ign's constant visualization of the Life of Jesus in terms of the cross (53, 109, 114, 116, 206). This notion constantly penetrates Ign's consideration of Jesus' life, always, of course, subservient to the *Election* which in turn constantly rests on the fundamental principle of *labor et gloria* (93, 95).

The *discretio spirituum*, in which the consideration of God's earthly life is completed, is a growing insight into the Chalcedonic polarity between poor human nature (labor) and the hidden glory of the Divinity (gloria) together with a desire to fashion one's own life in accordance with this insight. This assimilation is only possible (in the sense of a formation of one's life) through consideration of Jesus' life. Ign insisted again and again that the *Election* and the necessary *Discretio Spirituum* should always take place in the context of the mysteries of Xt's life. In any case we must look to the real end of the *E* in developing the considerations on Xt's life; the life of Jesus is conceived by Ign as the great paradigm involving the choice of the cross. The process of the *Election* is consequently an "existentialization" of Jesus' life toward the shaping (*ordinatio*) of one's own existence or life-goal. The *Election* proceeds from a practical, vital, effective understanding of the mysteries.

Thus Ign in the Second Week (as also for the Third and Fourth weeks) constructs the life of Jesus into a true drama between Xt and Satan, which ought to find repercussions in the personal center of one who wills to make real the call of Xt the King by a stronger assimilation to Him. Thus it would be useful, perhaps, to sketch a "dramatization" of the

Mysteries which are totally intelligible only in the light of the *Election's* aims and purposes. In this manner we will derive from these Mysteries the inner dynamism of the *E.* This will also indicate how decisive a role the succession of Mysteries plays in the Election.

First Day: *Incarnation* (101-109) and *Birth* (110-117): these two are directly conceived and related to the fundamental law of *labor et gloria* promulgated in the Kingdom.

Second Day: *Presentation in the Temple* (132) and *Flight Into Egypt* (132): an intensification of the God-Man's life as directed to renunciation and the cross.

Third Day: *Obedience of Child Jesus* (134, 271) is presented before the *Finding in the Temple* (134, 272). Now it becomes clearer in what sense this section of Xt's life is a paradigm for the *Election:* Nazareth as the embodiment of the life of the commandments; the *Finding in the Temple* as the first proclamation of the life of the counsels or total dedication to the service of the Eternal Father (135). This choice between command and counsel is the real object of the *Election* of which Ign speaks in his Directory (*MI*, II, 2, 76ff).

Fourth Day: On this day given over to a consideration of the *Two Standards* and the *Three Classes of Men* the exercitant enters into the real period of Election. The guiding principle in Xt's life, the pure service of His Eternal Father, is now seen in its function within salvation-history as a contest with the enemy of human nature.

Fifth Day: The Journey of Xt from Nazareth to the Jordan (158, 163, 273) is of great importance in the total scheme of the *Election* and is seen as the conclusive "turning" of Jesus to the pure service of His Father. At this point the *Third Degree of Humility* is encountered.

Sixth Day: This day, decisive for the formation of the *Election,* is filled with the confrontation between Xt and Satan in the desert. This is the visible, biblical aspect of the whole mystery of salvation and damnation. The divergent views between Xt and Satan are of such a critical nature that the exercitant is committeed to sincerely answering the question, "What shall I do for Xt?"

Seventh Day: From this point on in the body of the Second Week Ign merely points out further mysteries (161, 162). This means that basically at this point the *Election* can be made and that further consideration only serves to confirm the decisions made in the *Election.*

Xtology of the Kingdom. The Christology here forms the foundation for the Second Week and, standing outside the real structure of this week, indicates that the program of the entire *E* is being treated. This meditation is both the sum and substance of the life and work of the Lord with reference to the work His Father has given him to do. The call and the *Election* are very closely related, for to speak of a call is ultimately to speak of a vocation, therefore the grace of voluntary imitation. The Xtology of the "calling Lord" is supported by the biblical, theological significance of our calling in Xt (Eph. 1, 18; 4, 1; I Cor. 7,

20; 2 Thess. 1, 14). The indissoluble connection between call and response points up the basic insight involved here, that the Kingdom of the Eternal Lord today is based on a conflict with the enemy of human nature. The mystery of evil (2 Thess. 2, 7) is still a force, and the arrival of the Word made flesh commences the destruction of Satan's works: a destruction made possible and prepared for by a life of greater poverty, labor and suffering (116). The grace of response to the King consists in the insight that it is "still" possible to help Xt in the building-up of the Kingdom through imitation of Him first in labor then in glory under the banner of the cross (14), in sharp conflict with the program of Satan, the essence of evil. Thus Ign in this consideration gives us a basic insight into the theology of the cross as a decision (initiated and completed in the death of Xt) between the Eternal Father and the Father of lies. What is really involved here is the basic matter of the *Election*, i.e., what is more perfect and therefore propels us to share the cross in the battle against the world, the flesh and the devil. It is of the greatest significance to indicate the biblical and salvation-historical foundation for the picture of Xt as King; for over and beyond all the spatio-temporal conditions of the Parable there is the question of the basic-notions of New Testament revelation (Mt. 25, 21; Jn. 18, 37; Lk. 1, 32). It is important also to reflect on the answer of the exercitant in terms of his readiness to war against his own sinfulness and love of the world by imitating the King in poverty, humility and obedience, and then to see its relation to the *Third Degree of Humility*.

Regarding the meaning of the "Oblation" (98) it is decisive to grasp the Xtology of this prayer. Xt is here the "Eternal Lord of all things," the Creator and Lord and source of infinite Goodness. The Oblation uses almost the very words of the *Foundation* (23). Now we see in what the "more" of the last sentence of the *Foundation* consists. To this petition corresponds the grace of Xt, here characteristically addressed as "Thy Most Holy Majesty," a grace which consists in Xt "choosing and admitting" the exercitant. This corresponds precisely to the profound two-fold theology of grace in the concluding Oblation (234), "take and receive."

Xtology of the Two Standards. Now we must try to determine how Ign realizes the basic law of the Kingdom in the mysteries of the Second Week. We have indicated above how the mysteries of the Incarnation and Birth of Our Lord were the great means by which Ign illustrated the principles of the Kingdom regarding a final election. At the same time they are the essence of the Xtological realization in the practical order of the here and now in our closer imitation of the Lord (109, 114). The Meditation on the *Two Standards* forms in its Xtology an indispensable unity with the Kingdom. It is the complete unfolding of the drama of salvation. Now the question arises, in what does the essence of the messianic victory consist and this not only in terms of salvation but also in terms of what most approximates the goal for which we were created? The *Two Standards*, as an old Directory states (*MI*, II, 2, 247), indicates what the perfect path is. The intentions of the enemy of human nature

are seen as destructive of perfection and the Kingdom. Biblical references to Babylon as the essence of evil (Gn. 11, 9; Is. 14, 12; Apoc. 17, 18) and Jerusalem as the appearance of peace (Gal. 4, 21-31; Apoc. 21) are well documented by Lyonnet in his work in *Christus* (1956), 435-456. Xt's victory over Satan and the establishment of the Kingdom take place through the crucifixion (Col. 2.15, Heb. 2, 14). The part played by the good and bad angels in the course of Jesus' life is a miniature portrait of the mighty struggle between light and darkness, pressing to the crucifixion as the "hour of darkness" (Lk. 22, 53) and ending with the final parousia of the King who will conquer Satan with his breath (2 Thess. 2, 8). The intervening battle, from the cross to the final victory, is decided ever anew by the men who with God's grace are called to share in the basic law of *labor et gloria* in imitation of Xt victorious on the cross.

Now to juxtapose Christologically the triple aim of Satan and Xt (142, 146): Riches, honor, pride—Poverty, insults, humility. This three-pronged program of Satan is portrayed in biblical terms in the *Temptation of Xt in the desert.* Poverty, as the decisive point of departure for greater perfection in the battle against Satan, rests on the Ign insight into this virtue which Xt practiced from birth to death. (Note also the role of poverty in Ign's mystical theology as seen from his *Spiritual Journal.*) But beyond this it is the peculiar Ign vision of the conflicting triadic strategies of Satan and Xt which is most significant. Babylon is love of one's self to the hatred of God; Jerusalem begins with the love of God and ends with the commitment of one's self totally. Note also the triad with which the whole *Election* ends (189), to be free of self-love, self-will and self-seeking. See Ign's superb commentary on this entire section (in *MI*, II, 1, 101, 186).

The supreme grace of "being placed" with Xt which Ign experienced at La Storta and which had such an influence on his life was gained through the intercession of Mary. This idea is reflected now in the colloquy (147) "asking her to obtain for me from her Son and Lord *to be received under* His standard." When the triple colloquy finally is directed to the Eternal Father, it is the dogmatically accurate conclusion permeating the whole Xtology of the *E*, the prayerful approach to the "royal throne of the Divine Majesty" (106). The inseparable polarity between Jesus as Meditator and Jesus as Creator and Lord belongs among the essential characteristics of Ignatian mysticism.

The Sixth Day of the Second Week is taken up with the meditation on *The Temptation in the Desert.* Ign desires that this day be devoted to the mysterious confrontation between Xt and Satan. For the Xtological understanding of the *E* it is important to see in this mystery the biblical "concretization" of what was indicated in the *Two Standards.* The basic structure of the Kingdom is portrayed now more emphatically; the Kingdom of glory presupposes *Labor.* The *Temptation* consists in an anticipation of this glory which can be won only through humiliation. Ign adds at the end of this meditation; "the angels came and ministered to him," i.e., the fasting, mortified Xt. Contrast this with the conclusive

words to the devil, "You are to serve God alone." This service of the Divine Majesty through service of the God-Man is the central ideal in the choosing of a state in life. The whole theology of Ign has been called a "mysticism of service."

The first temptation translated into ascetical terms is the temptation to the things of this world, to the desire to have. The second temptation is to the vanity of a successful life devoid of the cross (honor). The third temptation is to the opposite of that which Xt summons us: i.e., "pure service of the eternal Father"—the quintessence of that which is proposed as the final end of the *E*. This is a humble service in imitation of the God-Man. Here we are involved in the question: "Where and how does the mysterious realization of the Kingdom of God and the Kingdom of Satan begin?" "How and through whom is the true Kingdom built up on earth?" The answer is to be deduced from Xt's existential reaction to the temptations. We stand now in the shadow of the cross and at the climax of the *E*, at a point where we inquire of Xt Who is leaving the desert for the cross; "Why is it that You have become man and descended from eternal life to a temporal death?" (53)

Christology of the Election. The spiritual drama of the *Election* is portrayed in the light of the God-Man's earthly existence. It can not be sufficiently emphasized that the second time for making an election (176) is the real method of finding God's will and, to be sure, through the consolation and desolation experienced in continual meditation on the Mysteries of Xt's life. The finding of the "Divine Will in peace" (150) can be attained the first time the *Election* is made (175) and is logically compared to the call of Paul and Matthew. Election is consequently always "The Call of Xt the King." Since the second time for making an election is through the experience of the discernment of diverse spirits and is ultimately a call from Xt or the perception of the "address" of the evil enemy (142), we are justified in giving the *Rules for the Discernment of Spirits* (316-336) a central position in a Christological interpretation of the *E*. This is above all true regarding the classical Ign definition of consolation (316): love for Our "Creator and Lord" is love for Xt, and allows us to love no created thing in itself but only in Xt, the Eternal Lord of all things (95). Regarding consolation Ign himself says in one of his letters, that we must consider all creatures as "bathed in the blood of Xt" (*MI*, I, 12, 252). On the other hand the essence of desolation is the dejection experienced by the soul when "it feels itself separated from its Creator and Lord" (317). Likewise, grace, which the soul finds in its Creator and Lord, is described by Ign as the power to withstand the enemy.

The experience of the divine will in this delicate discernment of spirits not only takes place through the contemplation of the life of Jesus but above all in the colloquies with Xt and Mary. Once more, it is evident how closely connected the discernment of spirits is with the Christological structure of the *E*. Concerning the Christological structure of the actual "making a good choice of a way of life" (169, 179-89), it is interesting to note that the texts of 169 and 179 are really a prototype

of the *Foundation* (23). When Ign speaks of God, Our Lord, salvation, the end for which we were created, and of inordinate tendencies which can lead us astray, it is only understandable in terms of what we have hitherto seen, that the whole work of the *E* is a tendency, assisted by Xt's example, to choose the *Third Degree of Humility*. Praise of God, Salvation, Service, Goal, World, Flesh are understandable only *per Xtum Dominum nostrum*. In the *Election* we are concerned with an understanding of the manner and degree in which the Divine Majesty desires to call a man to the service of the Crucified Son. It is ultimately the grace which Ign himself experienced when the Crucified said to him in the presence of the Eternal Father: "I wish that you serve us." The whole work of the *E* derives its meaning from the fact that the Eternal Word died on the cross for His Father's glory. Only that man will succeed in his *Election* who is ready to leap into the abyss of Xt of whom it is written, "Even Xt did not please himself" (Rom. 15, 3). The Christological significance of the *Election* (as also for the *Three Classes of Men*) can be seen from Ignatian commentaries themselves (*MI* II, 2, 75ff and 100ff).

III. THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE THIRD AND FOURTH WEEKS

The essence of the *E* consists therefore in an "*ordinatio vitae*" seen as an imitation of the crucified Lord either in the choice of a state of life or in perfection within a state. Since the cross of the Incarnate Creator and Lord of all things stands at the focal-point of salvation history, the Third Week is not merely a continuation of considerations on Xt's life, but is vitally connected with the *Election*. We see now that the question "What shall I do for Xt?" (53) of the First Week is answered in 197 with the realization that our highest activity for Xt consists in suffering with Xt. Polanco expressly states that the Third Week serves the *Election* if a clear commitment to the *Third Degree of Humility* was not attained in the Second Week (MI, II, 2, 310). Note Ignatius' continual use of the phrase that Xt suffers "for me" (53, 104, 116, 197, 203) which is the growing realization of the process of salvation in the "here" and the "now" of the exercitant.

That Ign is still concerned with the confirmation and final configuration of the *Election* is shown by his desire to have the exercitant repeat the triple colloquy employed in the *Three Classes of Men* (199). In the words of P. Davila (*MI*, II, 2, 527) the highest aim in the Third Week is "to find the heart of the Lord in the midst of His Holy Passion and to awaken us to a community of feeling with the crucified Xt so that we can say '*amor meus crucifixus est.*'" There is another expression in the *E* (203) which reveals the innermost meaning of the Third Week and some aspects of Ign Christology. The man who from the *Foundation* on desires what is more conducive to the end for which he was created and who recognizes this "more" as likeness to the humiliated Lord on the cross, now prays for "anguish with Xt in anguish" (203) and for "sorrow for Xt in sorrow" (203). The "afflicted" Xt is the Xt of the Pauline *exinanitio* (Ph. 2, 7), the Xt whom Augustine calls "*Xtus deformis*."

For the Christological significance of the Fourth Week, it is theologically revealing that Ign calls the manifestation of the transfigured Lord "apparitions" (299 and 311), doubtless to indicate to us that after the Resurrection Xt appears in the glory spoken of in the Call of the King as the "Glory of My Father," of the "divinity appearing and manifesting itself so miraculously in the humanity" (223). Consequently, the contemplation of these appearances serves to strengthen the *Election.*

Most early commentators emphasized that the *Contemplatio ad Amorem* was not really in the Fourth Week (just as the Foundation stood outside the First Week) and that it could be placed concomitantly with the Resurrection—or even in the First or Second Weeks according to the needs of the exercitant (*MI*, II, 2, 322f; 416, 459, 560). In any case the *Contemplation* must be adapted to the totality of the *E* because there is no mention of Xt (as in the *Foundation*) and the whole meditation abounds in scholastic terminology, so to speak. That nevertheless each word must be interpreted in the light of the Christology of the whole process in the *E* has been shown very recently by A. Haas in his commentary on Ignatius' mystical diary. The "Creator and Lord" is, in accordance with Ignatian theology, the Incarnate Word who through His power and essence "labors for me" in all creatures (236). It is the calling together of all things on the face of the earth bathed in Xt's blood. The finding of all creatures in God is to find all creatures in Xt. Even the *Suscipe* (23) is directed to Xt, the Lord. He is the Creator and Lord to Whom one gives his entire freedom. He is love and grace. The Lord to whom we finally and only now definitively commit ourselves in our Election is the same Lord whom we addressed at the beginning as the "Eternal Lord of all things."

(G. Richard Dimler, S.J.)

Ed. Note: A full translation of this important contribution to Ignatian spirituality has been undertaken by Fr. Dimler, and will be published by the Institute of Jesuit Studies, in conjunction with Loyola University Press.

Books of Interest to Ours

Screening Candidates for the Priesthood and Religious Life. *By Magda B. Arnold, Petreolus Hispanicus, Charles A. Weisgerber, S.J., Paul F. D'Arcy and Vincent V. Herr, S.J.* Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962. Pp. vii-203. $2.80.

During the past decade, a number of seminaries and religious communities have made use of psychological testing as one means of determining the suitability of candidates for the priesthood and the religious life. For the most part, the tests that have been administered are those in common use among psychologists. Few tests have been adapted for the specific purpose of religious groups. There have been few attempts to appraise in a scientific way the effectiveness of these tests in screening out the unfit. Research studies of the accuracy of these tests are rare. The present work is an attempt to make up for this deficiency. It contains evaluations of four programs aimed at the selection of apt candidates for the priesthood and the religious life.

Through Sequence Analysis of Thematic Apperception stories, Dr. Arnold presents a new and promising technique for determining suitability for the religious life. Instead of using the more usual method of analysis devised by Henry Murray, she has found that culling the essence or core from each story along with its nuance (which she calls the "import") gives valuable information about the attitudes and motivation of the candidate. The ultimate evaluation is based not only on the import but on the sequence of imports from ten or more pictures. Through the skilled use of actual cases, Dr. Arnold clearly demonstrates the effectiveness of her method.

The second study is an attempt to determine the usefulness of a specific personality test by comparing test results with ratings given seminarians by their own professors. Dr. Hispanicus breaks down the various scales of the MMPI into personality characteristics that are especially applicable to seminary candidates.

In the third project, Father Weisgerber offers a detailed analysis of a five year screening program for seminary candidates. Although the results of this study are not as encouraging as one might desire, there is much to be learned from it. Father Weisgerber points out the need for further research. Caution and prudence in the use of psychological methods of screening is implied.

The final study undertaken by Father D'Arcy deals with the application of interest tests to a group of candidates for a missionary congregation of men.

This small volume represents a large step in the right direction. Per-

haps its greatest value will be the stimulus that it should give to further research. For the non-professional reader, it offers a realistic, if limited, picture of the present status of psychological screening techniques as applied to candidates for the priesthood and the religious life.

RICHARD P. VAUGHAN, S.J.

Letters from a Traveller. *By Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.* Edited by Claude Aragonnès. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1962. Pp. 380. $4.00.

To Maurice Blondel in 1919 Teilhard de Chardin wrote: "As for our speculations, they will remain sterile for ourselves as well as for others unless we conform to them, and turn them into an example for other men to follow." The present collection of letters shows how well Teilhard satisfied his own criterion. Covering the most active period of his scientific career, 1923-55, these letters illustrate his conformity to the program familiar to readers of *The Divine Milieu* and *The Phenomenon of Man.* For himself at least, Teilhard's provocative synthesis of Christian detachment and deep commitment to the world, of the "Christic" (supernatural) and the "cosmic" (natural), was an effective one, and one which structured his whole life.

Teilhard considered himself more as an exemplar than as a teacher, and for all the questions and problems raised by his thought, one cannot but admire the deeply religious priest, the intensely dedicated research scientist, the warmly personal correspondent revealed in these letters. Mlle. Teillard-Chambon (Claude Aragonnès), to whom most of these letters are addressed, has provided a brief introduction to the volume as well as short annotations for the individual letters. Also included is a translation of the short work, *Teilhard de Chardin tel que je l'ai connu,* by Father Pierre Leroy, S.J., his collaborator and close friend. Father Leroy cites a very interesting letter to Very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus, expressing intense devotion to a personal mission joined with patient submission to the demands of obedience to the Church and the Society.

This portion of Teilhard's correspondence provides an excellent background for his numerous writings (conveniently indexed with appropriate references to the letters). It is not strange that one who spent more than thirty years travelling through China, India, Burma, Java, South Africa, North America, and Europe would have the great breadth of vision characteristic of Teilhard's thought. Teilhard viewed his whole life as a witness to the Christian's task of participating as fully as possible in the "Christification" of the world, and toward the end of his life his constant prayer was that he might end well, i.e., "distinctly and worthily set the seal upon my witness." One can profitably reread *The Divine Milieu* after the *Letters* to see how Teilhard's life was both the source and exemplar of all he stood for.

Readers may be surprised at numerous passages such as: ". . . as you know I only came to China in the hope of being better able to speak about the 'great Christ' in Paris." This might appear to be precisely the

ambiguous position of many Christians which the author of *The Divine Milieu* criticized. However, it should be noted that such lines were written in the midst of intense, highly competent research, and by a man who twice between his seventieth birthday and his death made scientific expeditions to South Africa. For one who so respected and effectively used the means, an expression of their ultimate finality should not be looked upon with suspicion. Just as these letters show how well Teilhard fulfilled his definition of the Christian as the "most attached and detached of men," they show how he was able to subordinate means without subverting them.

CHARLES L. CURRIE, S.J.

My Life With Christ. *By Anthony J. Paone, S.J.* Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1962. Pp. 310. $4.50.

Many a modern reader, interested in religion and mental health, is ready to applaud a successful attempt to integrate findings of psychology and psychiatry with Christian counseling and spirituality. One such effort was *Counselling the Catholic* by Fathers Hagmaier and Gleason. Another, intended more for the counselee, is Father Paone's new book, the fruit of considerable experience in pastoral counseling. Because "a balanced religious outlook depends not only on an adequate knowledge of revealed truth, but also on a proper understanding of human nature," the author aims at helping the reader toward this double goal, so that through grace and effort he may gradually achieve "a fuller emotional development and spiritual formation" (p. 13).

Each of the 183 meditations is presented in a 4-R format: Read, Reflect, Review, Respond. A passage from the Gospels is followed by a brief reflection on the incident. This observation is then expanded; the doctrinal, moral and, especially, psychological truths suggested by the reading are interrelated and applied to daily life. The repetition of key ideas in different forms and contexts is not a defect of the book but an indication of the way to use it: it is not meant for continuous reading, but for slow, prayerful assimilation over a period of time. The final R is a summary colloquy with Christ.

One line discernible in Father Paone's approach mirrors, on the level of operative awareness, the three elements in St. Augustine's formula for the double movement, descending and ascending, of grace: "Because You loved me, You made me lovable and capable of love." (1) Salvation begins with the fact of God's love, the compassionate love of a Father who "knows our frame," and of Jesus who "has been tempted in every way as we have." (2) The consequence (not the motive) of this love is our own goodness, and a realization of this essential worth promotes a proper and necessary self-respect. By alleviating a root anxiety, this conviction makes self-acceptance possible in spite of one's limitations, imperfections and sinfulness. This is not an attitude of complacency, but of genuine humility; not an end, but a beginning of true growth. (3) For coupled with some understanding of the emotional forces at work in him, it helps a person to liberate himself from his own fears, from unrealistic demands on himself and others, from slavery to feel-

ings which hamper his love (both affective and effective) for God and neighbor.

Father Paone writes in a simple style with insight, wisdom and pastoral "compassion on the multitude." *My Life With Christ* is a valuable contribution for counselee and counselor alike. Since every man is both, at least in his own case, one hopes that this regular-size book will prove no less popular than the author's pocket-size *My Daily Bread.*

NEIL L. DOHERTY, S.J.

Churches in North America. *By Gustave Weigel, S.J.* Baltimore: Helicon Press, 1962, Pp. 152. $3.95.

In this year of vibrant ecumenical interest, Father Weigel has made a concise and well-defined contribution for those interested in learning more about the non-Catholic sects of the United States and Canada.

Churches in North America is a book which can be read rather rapidly, and yet on each page the information to be gleaned is invaluable. The twenty-five sects selected are the chief religious groups in the United States today, and the short history and statement of doctrine of each group will leave the reader with an outline whereby he can delve more deeply into the field if he so desires. But even without such intensive study, the reader can feel secure in the knowledge gained.

The sections pertaining to the Eastern Rite Churches will be of particular interest. Chapters one and two deal with the historical data of the early Church and then proceed to clarify the issues which caused the early schisms. Also explained in the following chapter, chapter three, are those matters in which the Eastern Churches now differ from the Roman Church. For a quick review of early Church history, these three chapters will be difficult to surpass.

This book would be an excellent supplement to a college or study group consideration of the present state of the non-Catholic Churches in the United States and Canada. Further, it is a handy guide to those who wish to review rapidly the tenets of these sects.

WILLIAM J. HENDRICKS, S.J.

The God Who Loves Us. *By Rev. Gerard P. Weber and Rev. James Killgallon.* Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1962. Pp. 121. $1.00.

The God Who Loves Us is a modestly priced paper-bound booklet containing the current sermon outlines originally prepared for the clergy of the Archdiocese of Chicago. Those familiar with earlier *Sunday Sermon Outlines* from Chicago will welcome the attempt by the Liturgical Press to bring this year's material to a wider audience.

These outlines suggest a program of instructions which departs radically from the usual rigid adherence to instructions based on the Commandments, Sacraments and Creed. The overall objective of these sermons is a greater knowledge and appreciation of the Sacred Scriptures. But, in addition to this objective, emphasis is also given to the liturgical cycle. These two themes, Scripture and the Liturgical Year, are interwoven. On the great feasts of the year, the suggested sermon

is appropriate to the feast, but the sermon for a Sunday not of great liturgical importance would be on the Scriptures. During the long post-Pentecostal season, for instance, individual books of the New Testament are studied and explained.

Each Sunday's entry follows the same format: point of sermon, suggested beginning, development and application. The outlines are clear, thorough and practical. They provide sufficient material for sermons appropriate to the recently reenkindled interest in Scripture.

WILLIAM J. KEYES, S.J.

To Know Christ Jesus. *By Frank J. Sheed.* New York: Sheed and Ward, 1962. Pp. xx-377. $5.00.

The author describes this as neither a biography nor a gospel commentary, but an introduction to Christ as a person. Drawing on a wealth of traditional Scripture commentaries, he follows Christ through the gospel events and explains them. To order this sequence within the three parts, "The First Thirty Years," "The Public Life," and "Redemption," he follows the chronology of Père Lagrange. Alternate theories of interpretation, digressions into secular history or the more erudite exegesis are excluded by the preoccupation: to know Christ as one would by having met Him during His public ministry.

By remaining on this level Sheed is able to take the four Gospels together as a source and, with the overview of years of prayerful study of the Old Testament and the New, select from both the Synoptics and John the incidents and insights that capture a fresh understanding of the life of Christ and the "whole spiritual revolution" inherent in His preaching. He bunches Gospel events into topical unities, e.g., he interrelates the temptation in the desert to Satan's role in the betrayal, and compares the two episodes in which our Lady speaks to her Son and He replies (the finding in the temple and the marriage feast at Cana). He identifies unnamed persons in the gospel story and points out things we may have skipped, e.g., that John's mother was there at the foot of the cross when Christ gave Mary into his keeping. To suggest further speculation, Sheed asks, for example, what Judas would have preached about on the occasion of Christ's sending of the twelve. Of course Sheed's language is always refreshing; in discussing the Virgin Birth he avoids the tired biblical phrases and uses wholesome, everyday words.

For this triumph of integrality the author has paid a price. He has ignored many large problems which threaten the body of his work and betray its high color. *To Know Christ Jesus* is biographical; hence it relies too heavily on chronology in order to draw meaning into events. Disregarding the complexities of the gospel passages and their varieties of sense, he uses all as one homogeneous source. He thereby reaches hasty and overdrawn conclusions, as when he marvels at the Magnificat, "spoken by a girl in her teens."

In the July, 1962, issue of *Woodstock Letters* Father Joseph A. Fitzmyer explained how the Spiritual Exercises are challenged and enriched by the "new approach" to Scripture. Sheed's introduction to Christ as a

person must face the same challenge because it adopts one of the goals of the Exercises, the intimate knowledge of Our Lord which is asked for in the Second Week. It seems impossible to reach this high goal today in one step and independent of recent gospel studies.

RALPH W. DENGLER, S.J.

Adsum: A Bishop Speaks to His Priests. *By Most Rev. Johannes Pohlschneider.* Translated and adapted by Most Rev. Henry J. Grimmelsman. St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1962. Pp. 172. $3.25.

Written by a bishop, translated by another bishop and expressly addressed to priests, this book presents spiritually nourishing insights and practical reflections on the priestly life in our modern world. It is a collection of a German bishop's annual letters to the priests of his diocese. Bishop Grimmelsman, the translator, with the author's permission inserts two additional chapters of his own and makes other minor changes and adaptations to the apostolate on the American scene.

In the opening chapter the author states the reasons for his letters, namely, the supernatural father-son relationship between the bishop and his priests and the unity of the Christian Church which manifests itself in large measure in the harmony of the ordinary and his priest-helpers. The readiness to sacrifice and service, given expression to in the priest's *Adsum* of the ordination rite, should be the ever-present animating principle that brings about the fulfillment of the priesthood; and this fulfillment consists in the perfectly balanced rhythm of contemplation and action. In twenty chapters this ideal is brought to bear on the various duties of the priest in his interior and apostolic life. The author gives short, practical advice on daily mental prayer, keeping up with the intellectual currents of the day, handling the problems of the young, etc. Brief (some chapters are only two pages long) and enhanced with apt scriptural and patristic references, pastoral in tone and devoid of empty speculation, yet profound in theological meaning, this book answers the need of priests for profitable spiritual reading in times of leisure or retreat. Those who give retreats to priests or seminarians will do well to recommend this book to their retreatants.

RAUL J. BONOAN, S.J.

The World for Wedding Ring. *By Daniel Berrigan, S.J.* New York: Macmillan, 1962. Pp. 77. $2.95.

Father Berrigan's latest book of poetry, *The World for Wedding Ring*, contains more than sixty poems divided into two groups: one part entitled, *The World;* the other, *For Wedding Ring.* As in Berrigan's previous poems, the fundamental insight which dominates is his vision of the Incarnation and its implications for the things of this world. The very title of this collection gives the key to this controlling insight. Tree imagery predominates here as in his past works, and it symbolizes one of his main themes, life, especially the Christ-life in created things. It is because of Christ that the poet can be a poet of creation. Without rejecting his background of discursive training as a priest and a Jesuit,

"seas tamed by the ordering governing glance," Berrigan shows great concern for the problem of intuitive knowledge and poetic vision. The way of poetry is, "But to light on and finger the world, bit by bit/an old woman in the flea market—." The frequent image of the eye symbolizes the vision of man in its various aspects, not only the poetic but also the natural, spiritual and intuitive.

This poet's profound vision is interwoven with a strong elegiac strand, represented by a number of poems on dead friends. His vivid, multi-level images of eyes, trees, heart, death, youth and old age are arranged in intricate patterns with craftsmanlike economy of diction. Condensation is carried to such an extent that readers will find many poems difficult and demanding. Perhaps a few times the difficulty of syntax leads to unnecessary ambiguity, as happens in the final poem, a revised version of "The Spirits That Speak in Us," which originally appeared in *Thought* for Summer, 1960. But this is infrequent and the austere control gives the poems a tough fiber. There is a maturity of style commensurate with his undoubted maturity of insight, and each reading reveals further depths and richness. A poet's third book is crucial and and Father Berrigan's *The World for Wedding Ring* establishes him as an American poet whose creative vitality continues undiminished.

HENRY J. BERTELS, S.J.

The Psalms Are Christian Prayer. *By Thomas Worden.* New York: Sheed & Ward, 1961. Pp. x-219. $3.95.

The title of the book is, in a way, paradoxical for our times. There is no denying that the Psalms are what Father Worden says they are. One need only to open the breviary or a missal to prove the point. But one must also admit that the ordinary Christian layman in his prayer-life rarely, if ever, worships God in the psalmist's words. The psalms praise or cry to God in accents so foreign to the modern mind that they don't ring true to an ear attuned to the hymns of present-day hymnals. But are the psalms really that far removed from a Christian milieu? The answer obviously is no.

Father Worden goes about his task of proving his thesis in a systematic way. The key to a Christian appreciation of and frequent recourse to the Psalms involves some basic knowledge of the roots and background of Christianity and an understanding of the notion of "Corporate Personality." An introduction to this idea in biblical terms helps to an understanding of the praying-subject of the Psalms. "In using the psalms as our prayers we must never lose sight of the truth that we are part of the whole Church, the Israel of God, which simultaneously suffers with the suffering Christ, and triumphs joyfully with Christ risen from the dead and victorious over evil."

A reading of the Psalms cannot but reveal some sort of uniform patterns of composition. The second chapter of the book identifies the patterns: lamentation and praise, blessing and proclamation. Needless to say, quotations and references to the Psalms themselves abound, bringing out the Hebraic and early Christian notions of praise of God,

lamentation over Israel's woes, and proclamation of the *magnalia Dei.*

In the last two chapters of the book, the exegete and the theologian in Father Worden combine in a theological examination of the Redemption of Israel and of the Hebraic concept of Yahweh, the conqueror of Israel's enemies, as imaged in many of the Psalms. The author takes seven Psalms whose common material "consists in the recital of the wonders which God has wrought on behalf of Israel when the latter was established as God's own possession." Father Worden does a similar competent work on ten Psalms of lamentation by bringing out the fact that Israel's history was a preparation for the coming of the new covenant.

The author actually uses only about twenty Psalms fully, but this modest beginning forms a clear outline for the other one hundred and thirty. The work is possibly too technical for the average layman, but if he makes an effort in understanding it, the rewards will be great. For the priest who has been away from his theological studies for many years, it is a great help in praying the breviary and a handy tool in preaching the Word.

Jose V. Aquino, S.J.

The Emerging Layman. *By Donald J. Thorman.* Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1962. Pp. 234. $3.95.

"Silence can be golden. It can also be just plain yellow." In this color play, Donald J. Thorman, director of the Spiritual Life Institute of America, reflects his eagerness to exhort the maturing Catholic community to fulfill its baptismal mission, the Christianizing of society. This mission is irreducibly a social one: no one may consider himself a Catholic who looks merely to Jesus and himself!

The layman's task is the *consecratio mundi,* for he alone is a full member of both secular and sacred society. Armed with a spirituality at once personal, familial and worldly, and with attitudes and principles derived from the social teaching of the Church, he must reform the patterns and institutions of society. Reform is here to be understood as moral reform, not as the imposition of social blueprints. For too long the clergy have been without the layman's help for one historical reason or another. Now is the opportune time for an efficient division of labor to fructify the sanctifying work of the Church.

The largest portion of the book might be considered as a layman's examination of conscience in confrontation with the diverse problems dominating the American scene: will the Church officially approve the American concept of separation of Church and state? What can a layman accomplish in the areas of race relations, social planning, ecumenism, international relations, education, censorship and civil liberties, and communism? How can a Catholic avoid the ghetto and yet live his moral judgments in a hostile or indifferent society? On each of these questions, *a* Catholic position must not be hypostatized as *the* Catholic position.

As the American Church comes of age, laymen must freely exercise their creative responsibility. A strengthened liturgy must engender a vibrant spirit, and the spirit must overflow into Catholic action. The

entire movement must be nurtured within an incarnational humanism which recognizes the intermediate goodness of material creation.

The book presents balanced, sanguine and documented views on a range of familiar topics. It would serve as stimulating and basic reading matter for laymen's study groups. ANDREW J. WEIGERT, S.J.

The Layman in the Church. *Edited by James O'Gara.* New York: Herder and Herder, 1962. Pp. 91. $3.50 (cloth); $1.75 (paper).

In preparation for the Second Vatican Council, *Commonweal* magazine published a series of essays on the layman's role in the Church. This stimulating book reprints these essays, together with a portrait of today's Catholic layman in America by John Tracy Ellis. The scope is large; the book touches on the parish, the liturgy, the Catholic intellectual, the bishops, past mistakes of laymen and clerics, and on the historical forces at work in this whole question. Especially notable are the chapters of Philip Scharper on "Renewal of the Church" and of Daniel Callahan on "Problems and Possibilities." The book's point of view is limited to the view of the intellectuals, but since these men should be the leaders among the laymen, this "limited" viewpoint is a most significant one. The book, then, is honest, frank and healthy; it shows the layman's love of the Church and his frustration with the senseless traditional restrictions by which he is repressed. The layman has been offered a strong challenge by pope and theologian, yet bishop and pastor have given him little work of consequence to implement this challenge. This book is a respectful but stirring reminder of this dissonance and of the layman's longing to live his full life in the Church.

JOSEPH J. FEENEY, S.J.

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AMONG OUR REVIEWERS

Father Richard P. Vaughan (California Province), professor of psychology at the University of San Francisco, is the author of the recent book, *Mental Illness and the Religious Life.*